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Daily Report

Latin America

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Daily Report
Latin America

FBIS-LAT-94-167 *29 August 1994*

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Mexico's Salinas Said 'Front-Runner' for WTO Post

PA2708170994 Mexico City EL FINANCIERO in Spanish 25 Aug 94 p 20

[Report by Lucia Domville]

[Text] The international selection process is working in favor of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, making him the front-runner to become head of the World Trade Organization (WTO) on 1 January 1995, according to sources in Geneva.

The sources added, however, that Brazilian Finance Minister Rubens Ricupero will not withdraw his candidacy to head the WTO, hoping for a complication of Mexico's political situation and a deterioration of the Mexican president's image.

The American continent is still divided and has been unable to present a single candidate for the WTO post. All European countries support Ambassador Renato Ruggiero, while Asian countries are leaning toward South Korean Trade Minister Kim Chol-su.

Since the resignation of GATT Director Peter Sutherland in April, the organization's 122 members have searched for the best successor to lead the new international trade organization that will replace GATT.

Four candidates were presented before the July registration deadline expired: Rubens Ricupero of Brazil, Carlos Salinas de Gortari of Mexico, Renato Ruggiero of Italy, and Kim Chol-su of South Korea.

Ricupero made official his candidacy to represent the continent's interests in late May, but a decision to withdraw his candidacy was reached when Latin American heads of state decided to nominate Salinas on 15 June.

This, however, has not yet happened, and GATT representatives in Geneva do not think it is likely to happen in the near future. They explained that Brazil's position is partially based on its rivalry with Mexico—a rivalry rooted in structural changes that have taken place in the economies of Mexico and Brazil and that have eroded the South American country's leadership position in Latin America.

Differences have increased because, from Brazil's standpoint, Mexico pushed aside traditional Latin American ties and associated itself with its neighbors to the north—namely, the United States and Canada.

The modification of the protocol of Article 44 of the Latin American Integration Association (ALADI), through which Mexico was exempted from its obligation to grant ALADI members the same trade concessions it granted via NAFTA, heightened friction between the two countries. GATT representatives added that because of this Brazil is unwilling to withdraw Ricupero's candidacy and will only do so at the last minute, because it is hoping Salinas will be discredited internationally by Mexico's political situation.

The sources added that the results of and the way in which the 21 August federal elections developed favor the Mexican president's candidacy, because they showed the country is advancing toward democracy. The positive results reported by international visitors, especially from the United States, strengthened Salinas' image as the most experienced candidate.

The WTO duties have not yet been defined. The work of the WTO Preparatory Committee headed by Peter Sutherland came to a standstill because of the August vacation period. The committee, which is divided into four subcommittees, will complete its work in early December, as soon as GATT members meet for the last time to finalize details on the WTO, which will replace GATT and start operating on 1 January 1995. It will be at this meeting that the members will decide by consensus who will occupy the post of director.

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Cuba

Robaina: U.S. Talks Could Be Limited to Immigration

PA2608193594 Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 1709 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] La Paz, 26 Aug (PL)—Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina today said conditions exist for his country and the United States to initiate negotiations, even if they are initially limited to the immigration issue.

In a discussion with a small number of journalists at the residence of Carmen Elena Herrera, the Cuban ambassador to Bolivia, Robaina was asked about the possibility of holding bilateral talks which, according to U.S. President William Clinton, would be limited to the immigration problem.

The foreign minister noted that President Fidel Castro, during his televised speech on Wednesday, addressed the problem clearly, saying that although a definitive solution would not be found by simply talking about the immigration problem, he would not refuse to begin by discussing this topic.

We want to caution that this is not a definitive solution for a simple reason—namely, what happens if the immigration agreement is not honored? Robaina said Washington and Havana have had an agreement of this type since 1984, which calls for the granting of as many as 20,000 visas per year, but this agreement has not been honored by the United States.

He also asked what would happen to those Cubans who may wish to emigrate but are not accounted for in the agreement, especially in light of the fact that illegal departures are being encouraged by Washington.

He said, however, that for the sake of finding solutions, Cuba would not refuse to participate, and because both presidents have spoken on this topic, it is now up to the two foreign ministries to agree on how to proceed, he said.

He said his country is seeking serious, deep, and far-reaching negotiations, which could be initiated with a discussion of the immigration issue. Nevertheless, he added, the problem basically lies in the blockade that has lasted more than 30 years.

He said it is logical for people to want to emigrate from a country that is being strangled by hunger and disease.

Asked about U.S. statements that a solution to the island's problems lies in the resignation of President Fidel Castro from the government, he said it is no surprise that Washington is trying to undermine and destroy the revolution.

He added that, for his people, there is no government in the world that can tell them how to negotiate or whether or not Fidel should be part of this process.

There are things that remain sacred to Cubans—things that are not negotiable: principles, Fidel, dignity, and our own voice. He added that even if Fidel agreed to retire, the people would never accept it.

It is not up to the U.S. Administration to tell us what to do in our country, just as it is not up to us to dictate U.S. policy or that of any other state, he said.

He also ruled out the mediation of a third country between Havana and Washington. Although he said he understood arguments in support of such a plan, he stressed the dialogue must be direct.

He also described as praiseworthy the announcement made by the Mexican Government to receive Cubans wishing to legally emigrate to reunite themselves with their relatives living in Mexican territory.

Likewise, he described as positive the fact that the winner of the Mexican elections, Ernesto Zedillo, has spoken out in favor of negotiations between Washington and Havana and for U.S. recognition of the island's right to choose its own path.

Robaina arrived in Bolivia last night and was treated to a warm reception. This morning he inaugurated, along with his host and colleague Antonio Aranibar, a working meeting to discuss cooperation between both countries.

The diplomat, who is conducting a South American tour, visited the Bolivian Congress last night and held a dialogue with Cubans living in the country.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Views U.S. Relations

FL2708184994 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 27 Aug 94

[Report by correspondent Roberto Cavada on a news conference by Miguel Alfonso, Cuban Foreign Ministry spokesman, with unidentified correspondents in Havana on 27 August; from the "National Radio News"]

[Text] Miguel Alfonso discussed Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina's tour through Ecuador, Chile, and Bolivia. He is scheduled to tour Brazil in the next few hours, where several foreign news agencies suggest that he will announce Cuba's adherence to the Tlatelolco Treaty. Spokesman Alfonso said:

[Begin Alfonso recording, in progress]...the Tlatelolco Treaty. The information I have regarding the Tlatelolco Treaty suggests that Cuba is in the process of adopting a definite position on possible adherence to this important Treaty. I want to stress that Cuba is considering the Treaty's points and its relations with the United States, which is a nuclear power and can install these types of weapons at any of a number of its bases. On the other hand, Cuba wants to cooperate to reach common ground and to achieve regional integration. [end recording]

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Miguel Alfonso also referred to recent and possible contacts between the Cuban and U.S. Governments, as well as to Venezuela's last-minute offer to accept a group of Cubans who want to live with their relatives there:

[Begin Alfonso recording] The two governments have maintained contact throughout the crisis. Sometimes they are harsh, sometimes not, and other times it is to express confidence in our respective positions. We must not reject the possibilities that there have been contacts on many issues, including the migration issue. I am not at liberty to give you more details on this.

The second question was on the proposal that you claim Venezuela has made. I have not heard of this firsthand. I would not be surprised if the Venezuelan Government were to take a position similar to that of the Mexican Government. I would like to stress that this demonstrates the Latin American reaction to the U.S. Government intesifying measures against Cuba.

The U.S. Administration's disregard for these measures is great. The reaction of the media on this continent, as well as of U.S. media and the main newspapers, indicates that this policy does not have great support. On the contrary, everyone disagrees with the U.S. position of not wanting to talk. [end recording]

TV Cites U.S. Press Calls for Bilateral Talks

FL2708165194 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0000 GMT 27 Aug 94

[From the "NTV" newscast]

[Text] The U.S. blockade of Cuba and the situation created by the recent emigration has awakened [words indistinct] by important U.S. newspapers. These sources have confirmed that lifting the embargo on Cuba, as Americans say, has become the topic of the day.

THE NEW YORK TIMES and THE WALL STREET JOURNAL criticize President Clinton for rejecting Cuban President Fidel Castro's dialogue proposal. THE NEW YORK TIMES says that if Fidel Castro's blaming of the United States for the island's internal problems is enough to disqualify negotiations, Washington would never have been able to negotiate with the PRC, the DPRK, Syria, Bosnian leaders, or the Haitian coup leaders. THE NEW YORK TIMES points out that it is sometimes more important in diplomacy to talk with one's enemies than one's friends [words indistinct] extremist of the Cuban groups in Miami. This newspaper also says that not holding negotiations does greater harm to Clinton than to Fidel Castro. THE WALL STREET JOURNAL assures that the best way to stop the exit of Cubans is to lift the blockade. Both newspapers state in their editorials that every day more businessmen and financial analysts support lifting the embargo, as well as businessmen who consider themselves to be at a disadvantage against European, Canadian, and Latin American entities who have already begun to invest in Cuba.

EFE notes repercussions in the United States over the blockade of Cuba. A New York-datelined report points out how important media, humanitarian organizations, and large sectors of the U.S. economy are calling for the lifting of the blockade imposed more than 30 years ago. EFE says that President Clinton rejecting President Castro's proposal to begin ample bilateral discussions has done nothing more than boost the debate over an island that has been dormant in the memory of many U.S. citizens for many years.

Pastors for Peace, representing a number of U.S. humanitarian and religious organizations, has issued a communique condemning Clinton's policy on Cuba as immoral. It has announced that it will send 200 tonnes of aid to the Cuban people, defying the blockade as it has done on other occasions. Tom Hansen, a Pastors for Peace leader, blamed the economic crisis in Cuba and the emigration problem on the blockade.

President Clinton has met his advisers on the issue of Cuban emigres, who are being held indefinitely at Guantanamo Bay Naval Base. Official sources have said that Secretary of State Warren Christopher cut short his vacation to attend the White House meeting. Sources report that President Clinton refuses to enter into dialogue with the Cuban Government except to discuss the emigration issue, as Washington announced yesterday.

Latin American media has reported on the issue: Bolivia's HOY newspaper says that President Fidel Castro has given the U.S. President a lesson in international politics.

We recently reported that only one percent of [words indistinct] in the United States favor granting asylum to those who leave Cuba, according to a survey that will appear in the next issue of NEWSWEEK magazine. The survey also shows that the majority believes that the United States should resume dialogue with Cuban President Fidel Castro.

Migration Talks With U.S. Government Announced

PA2808005394 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish 0000 GMT 28 Aug 94

[From the "Evening Information Review" newscast]

[Text] Talks between the governments of the United States and Cuba on migration issues will begin next week. As is well known, Cuba strongly insists the problems that have surfaced during the last few weeks cannot be met with strictly formal migratory solutions. The rigid economic blockade, hardened by the Torricelli Bill, and the more recent measures taken against the Cuban people, are the primary element of the current international situation, which is forcing massive migration toward the United States and must be resolved. Nevertheless, the Cuban Government will not refuse to hold discussions about any issue that is of interest to either of the two countries.

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TV Reports Upcoming U.S. Talks on Migration Issues

FL2908115494 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0000 GMT 28 Aug 94

[From the "NTV" newscast]

[Text] EFE reports from Washington that the U.S. State Department issued an official communique on 27 August confirming that talks with Cuba on migration issues are set to begin. The communique, issued by Mike McCurry, U.S. State Department spokesman, says that talks will be held in New York and will focus on promoting legal, orderly, and safe emigration.

The Cuban Government announces the following: The U.S. and Cuban Governments will begin talks on migration issues next week. As many already know, Cuba firmly maintains that the problem that has developed over the last few weeks will not be solved with strict formulas on migration issues and that the rigorous economic blockade, reinforced by the Torricelli Law, and the new measures recently taken against the Cuban people are the basic factors under the current international conditions that encourage a mass emigration toward the United States, something that should be resolved. Nevertheless, the Cuban Government does not oppose negotiations on any topic that might be of interest to either country.

Contacts With U.S. 'Never Stopped'

PA2808030694 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish 0000 GMT 28 Aug 94

[Report by Maria Elena Samper from the "Evening Information Review" newscast; passages within quotations are recorded]

[Text] Cuban Foreign Ministry spokesman Miguel Alfonso has said in a news conference here in Havana that diplomatic contacts between the governments of Cuba and the United States have never stopped. Regarding possible bilateral talks, following the events of the past few days, Alfonso has said:

[Alfonso] "Cuba does not accept a dialogue with preconditions; that point is a general Cuban policy. I believe all news dispatches I have read so far indicate very clearly the U.S. Government rejects the idea of high-level talks or talks at any level that deal with an entire range of topics that are truly linked to the current situation in our way of thinking. They want to limit the talks, however, I repeat, to migratory issues."

The Cuban Foreign Ministry spokesman has described as very tense relations between Havana and Washington; these relations were made worse by the recently adopted unilateral, U.S. economic sanctions. He has also said Mexico's position on the disagreement between Cuba and the United States exhibits good offices; that is, Mexico encourages both sides to sit down and negotiate:

[Alfonso] "This position is consistent with Mexico's traditional position of encouraging normal relations between Mexico and Cuba and encouraging the normal development of Cuba's relations in the entire hemisphere. This tradition is one of Mexican policy, a tradition respectful of the sovereignty of any of the sides that may have a disagreement between them on the continent. Relations between Cuba and the United States or the United States and Cuba are not excluded from the framework of this continental relationship."

Commenting on the position adopted by Mexico and Venezuela, which have offered facilities to take in Cubans who have relatives in these countries, Alfonso has said:

[Alfonso] "I want to state these positions demonstrate how Latin America has reacted in response to the intensified U.S. Government measures against Cuba; that is, I believe the loneliness of the current U.S. Administration on these measures is serious. The media's reaction, both on this continent and in the U.S. media itself, the main U.S. newspapers, indicates this policy does not have support; on the contrary, there is a basic incongruence by not talking."

He has also mentioned Spain's distancing itself from the current Cuban-North American situation, and he evaluated the European Union's attitude:

[Alfonso] "I believe the EU wish to distance itself from this policy of intensified sanctions against Cuba is good. I believe it has recently taken a series of steps, even in the middle of this crisis, and has distanced itself from this policy. I believe, in fact, this event is a very important one from the political viewpoint and gives some insight on how this crisis is viewed or evaluated in Europe, in developed Europe. Their viewpoint is completely different from the U.S. viewpoint."

The official Cuban Foreign Ministry spokesman has said Cuba's problems are not centered around the emigration of a group of its inhabitants but, rather, in the development of its foreign policy. He has said the results of Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina's tour of five Latin American countries can be described as very important, both in economic terms and by stretching natural ties.

Catholic Bishops Issue Message on Talks With U.S.

PA2808153294 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1325 GMT 28 Aug 94

[Text] Havana, 28 Aug (EFE)—Cuban Catholic bishops today requested a "respectful and sincere" dialogue between Cuba and the United States, as well as one within Cuban society, in an effort to "seek the common good, which is the supreme law."

In a message read today in Cuban churches, the bishops expressed "concern" over the exodus of people who are

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leaving by sea and the fact that some are drowning in front of others who can do nothing to save them.

"It is not unusual in history to see people's lives affected by domestic conflicts or problems with other countries. What is unusual at this time, however, is the fact that these conflicts are not being resolved at the negotiating table through a respectful and sincere dialogue," the church's message said.

The document adds: "We find it worrisome that the main causes of this tragedy—causes which are not simple—are not being thoroughly analyzed with the sincere desire to find a final solution to these difficulties, and this is scandalous."

The note stresses: "We also would like to see the governments of Cuba and the United States analyzing this problem together."

In their note, the Catholic bishops recall that for many years the Cuban church has been "respectfully and earnestly requesting this dialogue," adding that so far its "conciliatory efforts" have had "precarious results." The current situation, however, is "too serious and sad to remain mere spectators," the note added.

In addition, the bishops issued a call for the "use of good judgment to prevent so many of our brothers from risking their lives or the lives of others by trying to leave the country by sea."

The message stressed that the Cuban Catholic Church will continue "promoting the search for changes that will lead to harmony and peace, regardless of any domestic or external conflicts that may arise."

Castro Issues Warning on Migration of Children

FL2908022194 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0000 GMT 29 Aug 94

[From the "NTV" newscast]

[Text] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro issued additional instructions to the Interior Ministry to be relayed to the Border Guard and national security forces. The text states:

Despite repeated warnings by authorities against attempts to leave Cuba with children and teens in unsafe crafts, some people have disregarded these warnings. In every point along the coast that can be adequately patrolled, [words indistinct] the following additional measures must be implemented:

1. Forbid the exit of people intending to emigrate in homemade, inadequate, unsafe vessels with children or teens of high school age aboard.
2. This measure should be applied on land, specifically through persuasion, using force only as an exception, and without employing firearms.
3. In the case of boats already at sea, the warnings should be repeated, and persuasive efforts should be made as covered in part seven of the 12 August instructions, without trying to either physically take the boats, or to employ any force or violence, in an effort to avoid accidents. Under these circumstances, the Border Guard should limit their patrol to the area within the 12-mile Cuban jurisdictional limit, to provide help if necessary.

These measures are implemented to complete and complement the instructions issued on 12 August, which regulate the just policy of flexibility adopted by Cuba regarding those who wish to emigrate by their own means, and which try to prevent endangering, through irresponsibility, the lives of those who because of their age do not have a chance of making their own decisions.

Those wishing to leave by their own means are exhorted to strictly obey this prohibition. All instructions issued on 12 August will continue to be implemented .

Thus ends the note signed by Fidel Castro Ruz, president of the State Council, on 27 August 1994.

Rafters View Castro Decision To Restrict Emigration

PA2908004394 Paris AFP in Spanish 2202 GMT 28 Aug 94

[By Francis Kohn]

[Text] Cojimar, Cuba, 28 Aug (AFP)—"We have to hurry: They will not let us leave soon." This statement is what most of the rafters interviewed in Cojimar, east of Havana, were saying on Sunday following the announcement of Fidel Castro's decision to restrict wild emigration.

The news spread as gunpowder on fire throughout the coastal area. It is now prohibited to take to sea with adolescents under the age of 15, according to the latest measures on "those who want to leave on their own."

The police informed on Sunday that those who desire to go into exile and continue to wait next to their precarious crafts to sail toward the United States that weather conditions had improved. The information was "courteously" provided, a rafter said.

Certain rafters said the restrictions also apply to pregnant women and the elderly, although the presidential order announced by the Cuban media on Sunday did not mention them.

A man planning to leave Sunday night said: "We have been told if the Cuban Border Guards find a raft at sea occupied by children, elderly people, or pregnant women, they will take the occupants to court, after sinking their craft."

"All of this will come to an end at any moment," said a man, gesturing broadly to show all the makeshift crafts ready to take to sea. "Fidel Castro must build a huge prison, because he knows we are all enemies of the revolution," he said.

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Within the framework of the policy of "flexibility" toward emigration hopefuls, Cuban authorities have allowed in the past 10 days the rafters to leave, but not without trying to discourage them with information about the dangers they will have to confront.

The Cuban chief of state said in Sunday's decree this policy will be maintained for all individuals except those in the categories that have been mentioned.

As many rafters see it, the announcement on emigration negotiations between Washington and Havana means they could be "sacrificed," as one of them said.

Explained a man whose plans were hampered by the new instructions given to the Cuban Border Guards: "This is a chess game Fidel and Clinton are playing. It will end in a draw, and we, the pawns, will be the losers."

The man affirmed he will leave with his wife and their two children, age one and three, despite everything. "I have no other option," he explained. "I sold everything to obtain the $800 the raft costs, and I cannot leave my children in Cuba."

Another rafter said he will leave behind, with sadness, his 8-year-old son. "I would take my wife and son if Fidel Castro had provided me with an airplane," he said.

Majority of People Said Staying; No Sign of Uprising

PA2908034994 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Canal A Network in Spanish 0130 GMT 29 Aug 94

[Report by Jorge Botero in Havana; from the "AM/PM" newscast; passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] The Cuban Government, which has tolerated the exodus of its citizens during the last few weeks, restricted the departure of rafts today. The adventure will be for people over 16 years of age only. This young man will no longer be able to leave:

[Botero] "How old are you?"

[First unidentified speaker] "I am going to be 14."

[Botero] "What do your 14-year-old friends say about what is happening in Cuba and about leaving?"

[Speaker] "The same thing. Everyone wants to leave. I would rather be there than here."

It was Sunday today for the raft builders as well. The calmness of Havana, which appears more and more a city far away from the rest of the world, suspended in time, became overwhelming. It was logical for there to be laughter along the beach:

[Second unidentified speaker] "I am in Cuba and do not feel like going to the United States."

[Third unidentified speaker] "This is a wonderful Sunday, and the atmosphere is very comfortable."

More than an exodus to the United States, there was a parade of love riding by on bicycles today. People are pedaling about and calmly waiting for something to happen. There is not even the slightest indication of an insurgent uprising to threaten the overthrow of Fidel Castro, his revolution, or his singular version of Socialism in the tropics. The issue, then, does not seem to be the survival of this 35-year project; instead, one can feel a mixture of confusion with the gringos, politics, and, of course, drama.

Although there is hardly enough to go around as it is, as they say in Cuba, and though some dare to venture across the Caribbean Sea, the truth of the matter is the great majority of Cubans are staying.

U.S. Warning to Refugees in GRANMA Noted

PA2708152894 Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 1441 GMT 27 Aug 94

[Text] Havana, 27 Aug (PL)—The U.S. Interests Section in this capital has published a warning in GRANMA newspaper discouraging eventual illegal immigrants in a categorical and compelling tone.

The note warns that those people planning to travel to the United States by their own means will be sent to the U.S. Naval Base at Guantanamo and at no time will they be allowed to step on U.S. territory.

Up until a little less than a month ago, U.S. authorities encouraged, through radio broadcasts and other means, the illegal departure of Cubans wishing to go to the United States.

The U.S. Interests Section in Cuba has been operating in a wing of the Swiss Embassy since Washington broke off relations with the island in 1961.

The note adds that those who are intercepted at sea will not be taken to the United States, will not be processed to be admitted into the country, will not be granted refugee status, and will not be able to qualify to receive any type of U.S. visa.

The warning follows a heightening of tension between Washington and Havana following the hijacking of civilian boats which led to the killing of a noncommissioned police officer and a marine lieutenant.

Following these events, which led to a wave of protests among the Cuban people, President Fidel Castro warned in a televised interview that if Washington continued to encourage illegal departures, his country would not be willing to continue protecting U.S. borders.

In another interview this week, the president revealed that, given the lack of a constructive response from the U.S. Government, Cuban border guards were instructed on 12 August to be as flexible as possible regarding the departure of Cubans to the United States by sea.

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U.S. 'Siren Song' Aimed at Gaining 'Free Hand'

FL2608191394 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1155 GMT 26 Aug 94

["Our Opinion" commentary by reporter Eduardo Dimas; from the "Doing Radio" program]

[Text] I believe that Machiavelli was the first person to systematically and rigorously gather the methods that rulers used to keep their subjects subdued. His book *The Prince*, his most famous, is a compendium of all the immorality, lies, and tricks that the rulers of the time used in their relations with their subjects and with other countries. With time, those methods have become more refined and have become more effective through the use of the media.

The objective is still the same: Manipulate minds to achieve ends. Nowadays it is impossible for policies, whatever they may be, to achieve their ends without the use of the modern means of communication, radio, television, and the press. Scientific achievements have made the common man much more vulnerable to the sociological mechanisms of information, whether subliminal or direct. The well-organized propaganda campaigns usually bear in mind people's different characteristics, cultural level, age, taste, and other things. Therefore, the message that is to be sent is constructed in different forms to cater to different people.

That propaganda also bears in mind another very important element, the material conditions that those receiving the message live in as well as their possible wishes and desires. If the standard of living is high and the future is secure, there are very few that accept the risk of changing their existence. However, if the standard of living is precarious and the future is unsure, then many will be willing to risk the little that they have, including their lives, to follow the siren song, which sounds so pleasant to their ears, no matter how Machiavellian it may be.

I believe that any observer, not necessarily a well-trained one, can see that this is the game that in the last few years the U.S.-based counterrevolutionary radio stations and the U.S. Government have been playing to manipulate the minds of certain sectors of Cuba and to convert them into instruments of the imperialist policies implemented against Cuba. There is no doubt that the empire's siren songs have obtained certain success, especially in regard to immigration. However, now they do not want immigration; they deny what had been so profusely offered and they put them away in a concentration camp at Guantanamo Naval Base.

There is something worse than that, the terrible irresponsibility that is provoking the immigration of thousands of people in fragile boats, with great risk to their lives. It is said that those that start off on such an adventure do so of their own will. That is true. However, they have been enticed by unscrupulous and systematic propaganda that does not stop when faced with the possible loss of human lives.

Manipulation is part of any U.S. policy used against us. Letting yourself get caught up in it is the worst mistake that can be made because, whether you want to or not, you are disposable instruments of a policy that is aimed at creating problems within Cuba and creating an image to the rest of the world of chaos and violation of human rights. This is what the United States wants to base its case on, to take it to the UN Security Council, and obtain a condemnation that will allow them a free hand to intervene in Cuba whenever they want. That is why I believe that the following suggestion is good: No matter how great the needs that we have might be—the natural human desire to have a better life, the sooner the better; that 90 miles away we have the most powerful nation in the world with the highest standards of living—we cannot forget that we are part of the underdeveloped world, of the Third World, where after nearly 200 hundred years capitalism has not resolved the poverty, the uneven distribution of wealth, nor the discrimination against Indians and blacks.

Therefore, comparing ourselves to the north is absurd. We must look to the south, where 50 percent of the people live permanently in an acute special period and without hope. The rest is just thinking through our stomachs, the worst adviser, as we all know.

Raul Castro on Guantanamo, U.S. 'Concentration Camp'

FL2708150294 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0000 GMT 27 Aug 94

[Report on interview with Army General Raul Castro by Rosa Maria Fernandez in Guantanamo on 26 August]

[Text] Army General Raul Castro said that no one can enter or exit Guantanamo Naval Base through [words indistinct]. The Cuban Government has stepped up security to see that this is the case:

[Begin Castro recording] Both sides have planted mines along the border, including antitank and antipersonnel mines. It is probably one of the most densely mined places, at least on this continent. Anyone would be truly insane to try and cross that field. It would be insane to try to penetrate or leave the base. [end recording]

Army General Raul Castro Ruz made these remarks during an exclusive interview for this newscast following his tour of different border brigade points, a great brigade that guarantees the integrity and sovereignty of this perimeter.

Based on detailed information received from [words indistinct] Perez Perez, the Revolutionary Armed Forces [FAR] minister confirmed that new provisional measures have been taken to secure this border.

He saw from different observation towers the situation that is taking shape on the naval base with the Cuban and Haitian emigres, who are forcefully transported to this military enclave.

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Raul was interested in other issues during his exchange with soldiers yesterday and today, because of the living conditions and the educational level of the soldiers—most of whom have completed a 10th grade education or midlevel technical education in different specialties. This is the great difference between these soldiers and rebel army combatants, 60 percent of whom could not read or write at the conclusion of the war.

The naval base was the focus of the interview:

[Begin recording] [Fernandez] U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry recently visited the naval base that they occupy illegally on a portion of our territory, specifically here, in Guantanamo. He spoke during his news conference of the danger of Cuban emigres trying to cross the border dividing this territory, mainly the danger posed by the mine fields. What is your opinion on this?

[Castro] First, the U.S. defense secretary did recently visit the base and did make those statements. That is the only thing we agree on: the danger of trying to cross the border from one side or the other [words indistinct] of the border, including improvement of the three advance protectors which have been there for some time now—from the first, which is closest to the perimeter of the base; to the second, which is a little farther away; to the third, which is the last one.

Those advance protectors have been set up—with the cooperation of the organized masses, the defense zones, and the people's councils around this whole great perimeter—to impede people who are always making up rumors and foolishness, as it frequently happens, from trying to penetrate the base through this means.

Those who are caught in the outer or middle rings are returned to their place of origin, after receiving the appropriate warnings. Those who are caught in the last ring—a forbidden military zone, as I announced here, in Guantanamo, at the 16 April ceremony—are tried to the full extent of the law and sentenced. That sentence is served here, in Guantanamo, because, in this case, they are playing with national security, especially in the tense times in which we live.

[Fernandez] It might be worth pointing out that both sides have mined these fields.

[Castro] Yes. Both sides have planted mines along the border, including antitank and antipersonnel mines. It is probably one of the most densely mined places, at least on this continent. Anyone would be truly insane to try and cross that field. It would be insane to try to penetrate or leave the base.

[Fernandez] They now have thousands of Cuban emigres, brought by force to the Yankee naval base. How do you feel about this, about them holding these emigres here indefinitely?

[Castro] This is a pretty serious problem. Comrade Fidel addressed this issue during a recent televised interview. First, they have transformed this into a huge concentration camp. They started doing this when the Haitians arrived. They have already had some problems with them.

Right now, as we speak, at 1200 on 26 August, approximately 8,400 Cubans are already imprisoned there. I had the opportunity to tour the perimeter of the base just yesterday. We saw the tented camps that they are setting up. They know our government's position on the matter. We have protested the fact that Cuban territory is being used—illegally, as everyone knows—as a giant concentration camp.

[Fernandez] With the dissemination that we have provided and the recent ratification [words indistinct] military of great danger, whose responsibility is it if an attempt is made to pass through that perimeter?

[Castro] If it is from inside the base out, then it is totally their responsibility. We must admit that they are also taking measures. We could see yesterday the part where they are erecting the camp that I mentioned before. They are reinforcing their side of the perimeter with barbed wire, new barbed wire, making it more difficult to violate the perimeter. In other words, they are also taking measures. Both sides are taking steps. That is correct. Aside from the abnormality of converting that base into a gigantic concentration camp, we must say that there is tranquility on both sides. On the Cuban side, we will try to do all we can to maintain that tranquility in light of that abnormality. We expect them to do likewise.

[Fernandez] There are also acceptable solutions for a possible repatriation through consular and diplomatic efforts.

[Castro] Exactly. Any repatriation must be done through corresponding procedures through diplomatic and consular means. Only through those means can any entrance or exit from the base be resolved.

[Fernandez] Thank you, very much.

[Castro] Thank you. [end recording]

It has been laid out: No one can enter or leave through the densely mined perimeter. Surveillance around the naval base has been intensified to see that this is so. Here, in Guantanamo, the FAR minister said that it is the U.S. Government's responsibility to ensure that Cuban emigres [words indistinct] diplomatic to make viable a repatriation.

Praises Measures Taken at Naval Base

FL2608180794 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 26 Aug 94

[From the "National Radio News"]

[Text] General of the Army Raul Castro, minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces [FAR], was briefed by

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Brigadier General Carlos Manuel Perez at the headquarters of the border brigade in Guantanamo. Perez explained all the measures implemented to assure the impossibility of violating the land area around the Guantanamo Naval Base, illegally installed at both sides of the entrance to Guantanamo Bay by the United States. Raul Castro praised the measures implemented and gave instructions strengthening them, as well as assigning more resources. Raul Castro expressed his gratitude for the cooperation between the FAR and the Interior Ministry.

Raul Castro visited different post areas of the border brigades, spoke with the soldiers, and through observation equipment from different observation posts, observed the Haitian refugee camp, the first camp used to hold the Cuban immigrants upon their arrival.

Government Denies Embassies To Issue Visas to Emigres

PA2708210694 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2000 GMT 27 Aug 94

[Excerpt] Havana, 27 Aug (NOTIMEX)—The Cuban Government denied in an official communique today that the embassies accredited in Havana are going to open their installations to issue visas to Cubans who wish to emigrate.

"That rumor is unfounded. The established measures on emigration issues remain unchanged," stated an official two-paragraph communique disseminated by the main media of the Caribbean island.

"Any change in emigration measures will be notified in a public and timely manner, as usual," the message stated.

Official sources issued the clarification due to the growing number of people who wish to leave Cuba illegally for Miami, Florida. [passage omitted]

'Enemy Radio' Steers Crowds to Canadian Embassy

FL2708154594 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0000 GMT 27 Aug 94

[From the "NTV" newscast]

[Text] Enemy radio has been reporting falsely since early this morning that the Canadian Embassy will grant visas to anyone who requests them. A team from this newscast went to the Canadian Embassy and reports on what happened:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] More than 100 people have congregated outside the Canadian Embassy since early this morning, some demanding visas. After Canadian Embassy officials refused the visas, they brandished their alleged rights based on what this anti-Cuban radio said and repeated. The Embassy issued a note on the consul's later response to the crowd.

[Consul] I am very sorry. We do not have a special program for the special circumstances under which you are living. Do you understand me? We have a program where people with relatives in Canada, through the family's invitation, can travel under certain circumstances. Visas are granted under certain special circumstances, but I must point out that 95 percent of requests for these kinds of visas are rejected.

[Correspondent] The truth of the matter is that an official U.S. Government radio station has urged Cubans to demand a right that belongs to the Canadian Government alone. The Canadian Government does not receive or have any emigration programs of this kind for these people who wish to emigrate from Cuba.

[Consul] Approximately 99.99 percent of you will not meet the requirements for this type of emigration.

[Correspondent] This is a difficult afternoon for Mrs. (Simul), who has been carrying out her functions as consul for only one week. She was very clear: Only those who meet the requirements, which are very demanding, and those who have approximately $8,000 to $10,000 for [word indistinct] will be eligible for a visa. [end recording]

Envoy to Italy: U.S. Policies Forcing Exodus

LD2508211894 Rome RAI Uno Television Network in Italian 1800 GMT 25 Aug 94

[Text] In an interview with the RAIUNO news service in Rome, the Cuban ambassador [Mario Rodriguez Martinez] reiterated his country's stance—that the blame for the exodus from Cuba rests squarely on the U.S. Administration, which has not honored the immigration agreement of 1984. Let's see what he had to say:

[Begin Mario Rodriguez Martinez recording, in Spanish with superimposed Italian translation] If we add the figures for illegal immigration to those for legal immigration, then we have more or less reached the level for immigration guaranteed by the accord stipulated with Ronald Reagan in 1984. However, the United States prefers to stress that people are fleeing from Cuba because of communism, the lack of freedom. I maintain, on the other hand, that our immigration, legal and illegal, is economic in origin and is provoked by an embargo which has been in force for the past 35 years. It has been imposed by a power, the United States, which conditions our relations with third countries. [end recording]

Mario Rodriguez, Cuba's ambassador to Rome and a former deputy minister for information, received us to tell us that his government has decided, despite everything, to improve its relations with its citizens who have emigrated by making it easier for Cubans to return or leave the country. However, we asked him why relations with the United States are so tense.

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[Begin Mario Rodriguez Martinez recording, in Spanish with superimposed Italian translation] I do not know what the U.S. Government wants, but I believe that it is suffering from a lack of correct vision of international relations. What do they accuse us of? Of having taken away from them the 80 percent of arable land which had become North American property? Of having taken away from them the nickel and cobalt mines which belonged to us? Of having taken away from them our sea? Do they want us to tear away the star from our flag in order to place it on the flag of the United States? I just know one thing, if they are thinking in this way, then they are making a mistake. [end recording]

Emigre Visiting Under New Policy Interviewed

FL2608130794 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0000 GMT 26 Aug 94

[From the "NTV" newscast]

[Text] This man's name is Ignacio Santos. He was born in Sancti Spiritus, Cuba. When he was only eight years old he emigrated to Costa Rica with his family, 24 years ago. Last night he arrived in Havana, without a visa, due to the new immigration measures implemented, which were announced last Tuesday.

[Begin recording] [Santos] My visa was, really, a cable from PRENSA LATINA signed by a colleague, Ruben Cortez. The information stated that Cubans, born in Cuba, who emigrated and have obtained another nationality could come, as of last Tuesday, without a visa. Therefore, with my passport and this photocopy, I have come. It is hard to believe, in this day and age of communications, but the airport had not yet received the notification. All they did was make some calls and....

[Reporter, interrupting] What airport?

[Santos] Jose Marti Airport. There an immigration officer told me that I was the first case that he had encountered. After making the pertinent queries—he had not yet received the official communique—he gave me a very friendly welcome to Cuba.

[Reporter] What do you think about these new measures?

[Santos] I think they are very good. I think that not only in Cuba but all around the world efforts to build bridges should be made. [end recording]

Government Applauds Mexican Decision To Accept Immigrants

PA2708000494 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2208 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] Havana, 26 Aug (NOTIMEX)—The Cuban Foreign Ministry said today that Mexico's decision to accept Cuban immigrants for permanent residence "is positive and has great significance."

"The most important aspect is that Mexico will encourage legal immigration," said Miguel Alfonso, Cuban Foreign Ministry spokesman, told NOTIMEX.

Mexico will grant an unlimited number of permanent residence visas to Cubans who meet the requirements so they can join their relatives, Carlos Tello Macias, Mexican ambassador to Cuba, stated this Friday.

Approximately 150 people arrived at the Mexican Consulate today to begin procedures for their permanent stay in that country.

Tello Macias said "it is a permanent policy. We are going to document all those who come and meet the requirements. We are going to work on this for as long as is required."

The Mexican decision comes during the greatest exodus of undocumented Cubans to the United States since 125,000 immigrants abandoned the island in 1980.

Interior Ministry Issues Weather Alert to Rafters

FL2708003294 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1935 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] On 25 August at 2000, a tropical wave was detected in the central region of the Caribbean Sea—close to Pasos de los Vientos, between Cuba and Haiti—moving west at 15 miles per hour. The wave will continue to move west for two or three days, and will pass through Cuba and the Florida Straits tonight. Winds in Florida will move east at 10 to 15 knots, with waves from four to six feet, and with up to nine-foot waves in the strait's currents.

Friday night, alert should be given to small craft, since 20-knot easterly winds are forecast. This will cause five-to-seven foot waves, reaching 12 feet in the Gulf Stream.

A document issued on 26 August at the direction of the Interior Ministry Border Guard states that winds will increase in the Florida Straits from 20 to 25 knots on 27 August, with waves from seven to ten feet, and up to 15 feet in the Gulf Stream.

The waves will be accompanied by scattered electrical storms that will produce rippled seas in some areas, cloudiness, electrical discharges, and possible water sprouts. The waves will be higher, and the seas will be rippled even in the Gulf Stream.

Rustic and homemade boats should avoid leaving for the Florida Straits after Friday afternoon, and through the entire weekend, to avoid the loss of human lives in the sea.

JUVENTUD REBELDE Reports Tugboat Hijacking Incidents

PA2808170694 Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 1606 GMT 28 Aug 94

[Text] Havana, 28 Aug (PL)—Illegal immigrants hijacked a tugboat in this capital and later were picked

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up by the U.S. Coast Guard. Meanwhile, a group of youths prevented another hijacking in the eastern part of the country.

Both incidents were reported today by the weekly JUVENTUD REBELDE, which also published instructions from President Fidel Castro to the Interior Ministry banning the departure of people trying to emigrate through inadequate and unsafe means carrying children or high school teenagers on board.

JUVENTUD REBELDE reported that at 1525 on 26 August seven armed individuals suddenly forced Ferrocemento Tugboat No. 43 to veer from its regular route between Cayo Moa and the northern dock in the industrial city of Holguin in the eastern part of the country.

The report says those who tried to hijack the vessel "felt in their own flesh the firm and courageous stand of six youths who remained on the vessel and risked their lives to confront and neutralize the hijackers."

JUVENTUD REBELDE also reported that, in the early hours of 26 August, the captain and operator of the tugboat Miguel Tabares threatened the boat's guard with a pistol and hijacked the vessel, which was commandeered to the United States with 15 people on board, including women and children.

JUVENTUD REBELDE said the U.S. Coast Guard picked up the illegal immigrants from the Miguel Tabares on the high seas and that the Interior Ministry is coordinating the return of the tugboat with U.S. authorities.

Canadian Businesses Profit From U.S. Blockade

PA2608152794 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish 1307 GMT 26 Aug 94

[From the "Morning Information Review" newscast]

[Text] Several Canadian small businesses based in Toronto and Montreal are profiting from sending money orders and packages of food, clothes, and medicine to Cuba and from offers to establish telephone connections.

The manager of one of the Toronto businesses said that a variety of things, such as frozen foods, powdered milk, and medicine are being sent, primarily by airplane and boat.

Over the past weekend, U.S. President William Clinton intensified the blockade by prohibitting the flow of money and suspending certain charter flights to Cuba, among other punitive measures.

Robaina To Discuss Integration, Trade in Bolivia

PA2608163594 Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 0155 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] La Paz, 25 Aug (PL)—Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina denied tonight, shortly after arriving in Bolivia on an official visit, that the objective of his current South American tour is to look for support against the U.S. Government's blockade to Cuba.

This is unnecessary, he said, because virtually all the Latin American countries, even if they have not done everything they can against the blockade, are against this hostile U.S. measure against Cuba.

Robaina made those statements at a meeting with Valentin Abecia and Douglas Ascarrunz, presidents of the international relations commissions in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies respectively, with whom he talked about the Cuban situation, Cuba's integration with Latin America, and the prospects for a greater Bolivian-Cuban rapprochement, especially in the parliamentary sector.

The Cuban minister observed that Cuba has mature, peaceful, and friendly relations with "all the countries in America, except one," and that in no way is it living in isolation. This, he said, can be confirmed by the fact that a Cuban minister could not have made the tour he is currently making a few years back.

He also asserted Cuba's respectful willingness to listen and to be heard and said the objectives of his tour were integration—he highlighted the role of the Ibero-American summits to further such an endeavor—to increase trade, and to cooperate with Latin America.

At the parliament, he also attended a closed-door meeting with Javier Campero, president of the Chamber of Deputies.

The visit to the Bolivian Congress was his first activity after being welcomed at the El Alto International Airport by Foreign Minister Antonio Aranibar, upon his arrival from Chile; the second stopover in a tour that started with an official visit to Ecuador.

Before his arrival, Foreign Minister Aranibar told the media that the objective of Robaina's visit was to strengthen ties with the signing of several agreements. When he was asked about Cuba's problems—such as the exodus of citizens prompted by the United States—he expressed the wish that they be resolved according to international law and self-determination.

At the airport and amid cheers of the hundreds of Bolivians who had come to welcome the Cuban foreign minister, the visitor was declared an illustrious guest by El Alto Mayor Flavio Clavijo (area where the airport is located) who expressed the city's solidarity with Cuba against the blockade.

After expressing his gratitude, in his people's name, for the distinction, Robaina especially highlighted the slogan, "Cuba is not alone," which was being sung by the people, amid photographs of President Fidel Castro and Commanders Ernesto "Che" Guevara and Camilo Cienfuegos.

The people's warm demonstrations also took place at the Murillo Plaza, where the parliament is located and where

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hundreds of people, including children, stood to greet the visiting foreign minister with posters of solidarity and Cuban and Bolivian flags.

Robaina Visits Bolivian Congress, Discusses Ties

PA2608155594 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish 1306 GMT 26 Aug 94

[From the "Morning Information Review" newscast]

[Text] Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina denied in Bolivia that his current South American tour is aimed at seeking support against the U.S. blockade on his country. That is unnecessary, he said, considering that almost all of the Latin American countries are opposed to the hostile U.S. measure against the small Caribbean island.

Robaina made these remarks during talks with Valentin Abecia and (Douglas Ascarrunz), presidents of the Senate International Relations Commission and Chamber of Deputies respectively, during which they discussed the Cuban situation, Cuba's integration with Latin America, and the prospects for greater rapprochement between Bolivia and Cuba, particularly in the parliamentary sphere. The top Cuban diplomat explained that the purpose of his South American tour is to promote integration and increase trade and cooperation with Latin America.

Robaina who, upon his arrival from Chile, was welcomed at the El Alto International Airport by his counterpart Antonio Aranibar, also visited the Bolivian Congress.

From the moment of his arrival in Bolivia, Robaina has witnessed expressions of solidarity toward Cuba, such as an event in the city of El Alto during which people chanted anti-U.S. blockade slogans and others such as: "Cuba is not alone."

Robaina on Visit to Chile, 'Incoherence' of U.S. Policy

FL2608161394 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1100 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Interview with Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina by reporter Orlando Contreras in Chile; from the "Doing Radio" program—recorded]

[Text] [Contreras] Minister, your visit to Chile has concluded. We would like you to give us a brief summery: Were the goals of the visit met? Chile and Cuba had stated that the establishment of relations was not one of the priorities on the agenda for your visit. Rather, the visit was to contribute to better understanding between both nations, as well as other issues. What was and was not achieved?

[Robaina] I would like to avoid using the traditional: The objectives of this visit were achieved. I believe that the most important aspect of the visit was to advance down the path of understanding. Not only did we advance down the path, but there are now open doors. That path now is much clearer and easier to follow. What Cuba and Chile wanted to achieve—especially Cuba—was that this visit contribute to the understanding of our mutual realities. Without a doubt and independent of our differences, a very important part of Chile's governmental structures and representatives of all political forces are now aware that there are points of view in the huge campaign that is being conducted against Cuba, and that the Cuban point of view was missing. I have found here a great deal of understanding, respect, and a disposition to establish relations, independent of the differences that may exist between ideological affiliations. I have not asked anyone to share our projects. I have requested for Cuba the same thing that we have requested for Chile, understanding and respect. I do not have to follow Chile's model. However, I do respect the manner in which Chile has established that model.

There is no doubt that at a ministerial, media, political forces, and foreign minister's level we have been able to establish this with a great deal of sincerity. I believe that I have been able to establish this, during difficult and complex moments, while sharing the media with a huge anti-Cuba campaign on this so-called immigration issue. I have felt willing and able to speak representing our project and our people. I always have doubts as to whether I was able to convey, with the desired magnitude, our intentions. Contreras, what I do assure you is that I have not had a lack of arguments. I have not lacked elements to explain our achievements and feel the satisfaction of doing so. After that explanation I have found respect, admiration, and understanding.

[Contreras] Minister, we both are away from Cuba in these tense moments. I would like you to send a message to our people through Radio Rebelde.

[Robaina] I believe that any Cuban experiencing the present Cuban reality feels linked to the situation in Cuba, and this is felt intensely both in Cuba and away from it. I do not want to say that I experience the situation more intensely in Cuba or away from it.

What I can assure you is that just because I am away from Cuba does not mean I experience the situation with less intensity. In the first place I do not experience it less intensely because it affects all the generations that have undergone the Revolution, all of us that were born with the Revolution. We have also seen during this time that our foreign policies have been clear and dignified in the face of the United States' policy of total incoherence and total aggression on the issue of immigration. I believe that I have been privileged by being able to speak, outside of Cuba, during this huge campaign, representing those that live in Cuba and are not able to speak to the media that carry this campaign. I have tried to take advantage of that privilege.

If now I feel satisfaction, it is because these days the media have not carried solely what they want to say

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about Cuba, not just the images of that huge orchestrated phenomenon. These days the media have also carried the reality of Cuba, our denunciation and condemnation of that policy; the condemnation of the brutal and aggressive manner in which a difficult and essential Cuban issue has been treated. We took advantage of an opening in the front line and our voice was heard. It was not my voice, not what a foreign minister has to say, but what the people of Cuba do and say. In this sense it was positive to be outside of Cuba during these difficult moments because in Ecuador and Chile there has been a Cuban reply. I believe that it alleviates the situation.

[Contreras] Thank you, Minister Robaina, who is literally on the plane that is going to take him to Bolivia as a continuation of his visit that will take him to Brazil, Panama, and Costa Rica. Have I forgotten any countries?

[Robaina] No.

[Contreras] Thank you once again Minister.

Describes 3-Day Visit as Positive

PA2708231494 Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 2156 GMT 25 Aug 94

[By Julio Hernandez]

[Text] Santiago de Chile, 25 Aug (PL)—Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina Gonzalez described as positive today his three-day visit to Chile, during which he met with government ministers and many political leaders and was interviewed by the nation's leading newspapers.

Shortly before departing for Bolivia, the next stop on his Latin American tour, the Cuban leader told PRENSA LATINA whenever there is talk in Chile about Cuba's current situation, the Cuban point of view will be present from now on.

Robaina added he accepted the Chilean Government's invitation to foster mutual familiarization even though the two countries do not have diplomatic relations.

Robaina said the work schedule was broad enough that he was able to establish contact with the most important government offices and with all of the country's political forces.

Robaina said he also had enough time to explain the current Cuban situation and was treated with much respect and understanding by his listeners.

Robaina met here in Santiago with Foreign Minister Carlos Figueroa Serrano; Victor Manuel Rebolledo Gonzalez, secretary general of the Government Ministry; the economic and public works ministers; leaders of the two houses of Congress; directors of the parties of the governing coalition; and businessmen's organizations.

The visit, the first by a Cuban foreign minister to Chile in more than two decades, received wide coverage in newspapers and radio and television newscasts, to which Robaina offered exclusive interviews.

The Cuban foreign minister said the communication that was established undoubtedly quickens the progress toward economic and commercial ties and the normalization of diplomatic relations, which are already established at the consular level.

Robaina also met today with representatives of Cuban solidarity organizations who traveled to Santiago from all parts of the country. Robaina expressed the Cuban people's appreciation for the work these organizations do, not only in the material aspect but also in the moral aspect.

The organizations that make up the solidarity movement gave Robaina a letter expressing their commitment to continue working even harder to provide material, moral, and political support to Cuba.

The document also spotlights the organizations' respect for the self-determination of all nations and their rejection of the U.S. economic blockade of Cuba.

Robaina was seen off at Santiago International Airport by Chilean Deputy Foreign Minister Jose Miguel Insulza.

Namibian Prime Minister Discusses Achievements

PA2708013994 Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 2158 GMT 24 Aug 94

[By Nersa Caballero]

[Text] Havana, 24 Aug (PL)—Namibian Prime Minister Hage G. Geingob said today peace is his government's greatest achievement five years after gaining independence. This condition is for economic and social development, Geingob, on a four-day official visit to Cuba until next Friday, told PRENSA LATINA.

Geingob gave a brief review of the current situation in his country, where economic growth approached 3 percent in 1993. This indicator dropped in 1994 due to an intense drought and other weather related setbacks.

We inherited two countries due to the tremendous inequalities between whites and blacks when Namibia's independence was proclaimed in April 1990. Whites had a per capita income comparable to that of more developed countries, while blacks were reduced to the most abject poverty.

Geingob said the government has worked very hard these four and one-half years to create the appropriate conditions to help the most underprivileged Namibians. He said the government has built houses and schools, has laid the foundations of a universal health system, and is investing 30 percent of the national budget in education, because, he said, we believe the country's main wealth

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lies in the development of human resources, and we have taken these measures in a climate of peace and reconciliation.

The Third World's leading problems, he said, come from instability in those countries. My government has made an enormous effort from this starting point to preserve peace in Namibia and hold dialogues with all, including those who were our oppressors for years.

Asked about the conditions of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) vis-a-vis the coming elections following the five years of government established by the Constitution, Geingob said it is in an excellent position to face a new electoral race.

If during the process of decolonization we were in a relatively adverse situation due to all the mechanisms racist parties had at their disposal, then one could say the SWAPO's situation is entirely different now, more favorable; I would dare say even more comfortable, he said.

Geingob repeatedly praised during his interview with PRENSA LATINA the aid received from Cuba during the process of decolonization, saying Namibia would have never won its independence had it not been for Cuba.

Cuba's solidarity, he added, with so many peoples, particularly with the Namibian people, now moves us to express our support for Cuba and rejection of the U.S. blockade against Cuba.

"Cuba is not a country that yields to intimidation," the prime minister said, adding current international relations are moving toward reconciliation. He mentioned several cases in that regard, such as those of Israel and the PLO as well as President Nelson Mandela's victory in South Africa.

"The blockade belongs to the past with the Cold War; the current situation is different, and lifting this affront is necessary," Geingob said.

Insisting on the significance involved in creating a climate of peace and stability in Third World countries so as to achieve their internal development, Geingob cited as an example the current situation in Angola, where independence was proclaimed in 1975 and where war has been the main problem since then.

Namibia is geographically situated between two colossi: South Africa in the south and Angola in the north. Both South Africa and Angola have many and varied problems. We try to help our friends, but I believe the most important element in the two countries is the need for peace, he said.

Concerning the recent election of black leader Mandela to the South African Presidency, Geingob said that particular victory is also somewhat the victory of the Namibian people. "This victory pleased us very much, and we had always helped to make it a reality," he said.

He reiterated at the same time the need for underdeveloped countries to be self-sufficient and to develop further South-South cooperation, and he urged them to stop compiling more debts that worsen the current situation of foreign indebtedness on the continent.

Regarding current pressing issues on the African Continent, the prime minister said Namibia is trying to help resolve some of them, and he cited Rwanda as an example. Namibia gave Rwanda $1 million and South Africa $2 million for the preparations of its first multiracial electoral campaign.

We are the children of solidarity, Geingob said, and we are willing to do everything we can within our limited human and material resources.

Concludes Official Visit

PA2808005894 Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 1837 GMT 26 Aug 94

[By Nersa Caballero]

[Text] Havana, 26 Aug (PL)—A Namibian delegation headed by Prime Minister Hage G. Geingob concluded an official visit to Cuba today after holding talks with the government and decorating Cuban internationalist troops.

They began the day, the last of four in Cuba, by bestowing the "Omguhembache" Medal on a group of Cuban civilians and soldiers who contributed to Namibian decolonization. This distinction is bestowed by the Windhoek government on individuals who had made Namibia's independence possible in one way or another, and it bears the name of the first town where the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) began its armed struggle.

We are here to exhibit our gratitude and solidarity during this particularly difficult time for Cuba, said Geingob at the decoration ceremony, which was attended by Vice President Juan Almeida Bosque, who is also a member of the Communist Party of Cuba Politburo.

Geingob mentioned the importance of the Cuban internationalists' participation in the battle at Cuito Cuanavale at the end of the 1980's, when the South Africans were defeated for the first time and the correlation of forces changed in the African southern cone. These events forced the racists to negotiate Namibia's independence, to respect Angola's sovereignty, and to pave new paths in their own country (South Africa), all of which ultimately led to the dismantling of the apartheid system of racial discrimination, the prime minister said.

The brief but solemn ceremony took place two hours before the departure of the Namibian delegation, which arrived [words indistinct] traveled to the eastern city of Santiago de Cuba on 24 August to visit historical sites of the Cuban revolution.

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The delegation spoke with the government on 23 August at the Foreign Ministry in Havana. The Namibian prime minister was decorated the previous evening with the "Carlos Manuel de Cespedes" Medal, which is bestowed on individuals who have bravely and courageously contributed to the independence of Cuba or other countries.

The Namibian delegation will travel to Caracas for a brief stopover en route to Windhoek, capital of Namibia, which is in southwestern Africa.

Economic Accord With Peru Signed in Havana

FL2608121494 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0000 GMT 26 Aug 94

[From the "NTV" newscast]

[Text] Cuba and Peru reestablished economic and commercial ties in an agreement just signed in Havana. Lilliana Canale, minister of industry, tourism, integration and international trade negotiations, and Ricardo Cabrisas, Cuban minister of foreign trade, signed an agreement that stipulates an increase in bilateral trade. Cuba's main export will be biotechnical products. It will import chemical elements and components for the manufacture of battery chargers, as well as other imports. Accompanied by Jose Torres Murga, Peruvian ambassador to Cuba, Lilliana Canale met with other ministers and officials of the Cuban Government, paid visits to the Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology Center, Havana's historic district, and placed wreaths of flowers on the graves of Jose Marti and Leoncio Prado.

Diplomatic circles place great importance in Minister Canale's visit because of the current low level of trade between Peru and Cuba. Approximately 30 Peruvian businessmen are also in Havana with the same objective of strengthening economic ties and increasing mutual investment.

Western Army Soldiers Repair Havana Water Leaks

FL2508160594 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0000 GMT 25 Aug 94

[From the "NTV" newscast]

[Text] In Havana City, soldiers and officers of the western army, along with aqueduct specialists and workers, are taking part in repairing leaks in the Boyeros, Arroyo Naranjo, and Playa Municipalities.

We found out that over 40 percent of the water that is pumped through Havana City's water pipes is lost through leaks. This is an old problem that has caused a lot of inconvenience to the people who live in Havana City.

As of 3 August, a group of soldiers and officers of the western army, cooperating with aqueduct specialists and workers, are repairing leaks in the municipalities of Boyeros, Arroyo Naranjo, and Playa. These are the municipalities that have the most difficulties. As of yesterday, these forces had repaired 239 leaks in Boyeros Municipality and they have not finished yet. The repairs include everything from small leaks to the substitution of sections of pipe 300 meters long .

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] The fundamental part of the task has been to repair all leaks in the municipality. We began work in Santiago de las Vegas, after which we proceeded to Boyeros Municipality. We expect to begin work in Playa Municipality by next month.

It was a very critical situation. In Santiago de las Vegas we have practicaly had to lay in all new material. The repairs, if done only through binding [liga] would not have been long lasting. [end recording]

These young men work in organized brigades that are based at the different people's councils.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] They are doing a real good job. Those leaks had been repaired before, they were repaired by binding as the comrades—that is the way they pulled the pipes out—bound the pipes together. When a car would go by, a few days after, it would float and nothing was fixed. It has been that way over the past two years.

[Unidentified speaker] They are the best. They work all day under the sun, they do not rest. They eat their lunch right there then go back to work again. They do not quit until night. [end recording]

Lieutenant Colonel Ramiro Diaz, officer in charge of military unit 3415 which is in charge of repairing the leaks, stated that again the armed forces have aided the people in a difficult situation, but without forgetting the defensive readiness of their unit. Diaz also stated that they expect to finish this task in October, after which the people's council's brigades are to be in charge of maintenance.

The next step is that the road brigades quickly repair the streets, after all the leaks have been repaired, thus preventing another problem for the people of Havana City.

Abel Prieto on Culture, Economic Crisis

94CA0151A Santiago LA NACION in Spanish 1 Aug 94 p 39

[Interview with UNEAC, National Union of Cuban Writers and Artists, President Abel Prieto by Leonardo Caceres in Santiago; date not given; first seven paragraphs are LA NACION introduction]

[Text] Abel Prieto was born in 1950, so when Fidel Castro led the assault on the Moncada barracks in Santiago de Cuba in 1953, he was just learning to walk. Yet today he is a deputy in the People's Government

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Assembly and a member of the Council of State and the Politburo of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee.

Last week he was in Santiago, and he could be seen, standing 190 centimeters tall, at the Chile Stadium in the capital and at Playa Ancha University in Valparaiso with his long hair and open shirts.

In a spirit of good humor, he takes the time to tell a detailed story about what happened when former President Bush asked to be put in hibernation on condition that he be awakened in the year 2050. It was done, and when he came back to life, Bush asked to talk to a historian. He asked, "What became of Clinton?"

"Clinton? Oh, William Clinton was president, and after retiring from politics, he died of a cold in 2012."

"What about Yeltsin?"

"Well, Boris Yeltsin died at the end of the second great Slavic war, after the Mongolian invasion."

"And Fidel Castro?"

"No, no," replied the historian. "He is about to fall...he certainly will not make it through the year."

And Abel Prieto is the first to burst out laughing. He is one of the new men in the Cuban leadership. It is these new men, led by Roberto Robaina, currently minister of foreign relations, and Carlos Lage, who are gradually taking over the reins of power in the Castro regime.

Married twice, with a daughter, he is the president of the National Union of Cuban Writers and Artists (UNEAC). He has written four volumes of short stories and is a specialist in criticism, particularly poetry. He acknowledges that the obligations inherent in his various positions are incompatible with each other. "I have not written in many years. My last book was published in 1989. It is really difficult to write with the pressure of government and party work."

[Caceres] You have said that culture is a necessity. To what extent has the crisis in your country affected culture?

[Prieto] I do not believe that culture has been damaged in Cuba in terms of energy or spiritual power. On the contrary, we are going through good times, with a lot of original thinking in the search for solutions, for alternatives. I would even say that we are doing fine in ideological terms. But there is no doubt that the material crisis is also affecting creativity, due to the shortage of art materials, musical instruments, paper for printing books, etc.

[Caceres] In spite of the crisis, you are still holding film festivals and your museums are still open. Is the purpose of the "show" to help people forget their problems for a time?

[Prieto] That depends on how you view the need for culture. It is a necessity, absolutely essential. And people prove that by responding in an extraordinary way. It has to do with human beings' intimate needs. There is no "show" about it; the events, moreover, are staged with great austerity. No one in Cuba thinks that these festivals, such as the film festival or the bolero dance festival, are luxuries. On the contrary, people need them, they demand them.

[Caceres] What is the cause of the crisis? We usually hear superficial explanations, such as blaming the blockade or the collapse of the USSR....

[Prieto] The current crisis has essentially external causes. That must be repeated: What is causing it has to do with the American blockade, which has now been redoubled, and with the sudden collapse of all our trading partners.

For years we had an established economic integration with the socialist countries. The terms were advantageous to us. No one could expect things to turn out like this. Even the CIA found out through the newspapers!

Of course, we ourselves have also made serious economic errors. But we just want them to let us fail on our own! Let them lift the blockade and allow us to fail on equal terms. No one will give us credit; we have to pay for everything with cash on the barrelhead. We do not have preferential agreements with anyone. I think they should let us fail. They should take away those "pretexts." It would even be a learning experience if they put us on an equal footing with everyone else....

[Caceres] Are there no other factors influencing this?

[Prieto] Of course there are. There is a factor of majority political consensus, and one of a new political culture that has been developed in Cuba amid zigzags, ups and downs, various sorts of obstacles.

[Caceres] How do you define that "new political culture"?

[Prieto] I think that Che was right when he said that you cannot create a new society, just a new consciousness. In other words, it is impossible to make a radical change in the principles of the relationship between men and women if at the same time you do not introduce qualitatively different forms of consciousness.

Life has shown us that the new man was not there, just around the corner. That was a utopia that was growing further and further away: That superior man has really not yet been born. But I think that in terms of the masses, a new political consciousness has been created by the revolution over the past 35 years. This is what has allowed Cuba to keep up its resistance.

[Caceres] Well, tourism has, too, has it not? By the way, are you not worried that tourism will do more harm than good?

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[Prieto] Indeed, there is an element of corruption, of deteriorating morals, a black market associated with tourism. In some parts of Havana and Varadero, there really is a lot of corruption. But that is not true in other cities.

In any case, I think this should not make us doubt for a second that if the conditions are right for large-scale tourism, we will not give it up because of those problems. Tourism generates jobs, and even promotes cultural development. I am certain that the balance is presently positive, and will be very positive.

Dominican Republic

Foreign Minister: Country 'In No Position' To Receive Cubans

PA2608203894 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1923 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] Santo Domingo, 26 Aug (EFE)—The Dominican Republic is in no position to receive the Cuban refugees if the U.S. Government requests it, Dominican Foreign Minister Carlos Morales Troncoso stated here today.

"I do not think either the president (of the republic, Joaquin Balaguer) or the Dominican people would view that favorably... They have not made any request to us, but (the United States) knows we have many problems," Morales Troncoso added. "Morales Troncoso noted that many Haitians live in Dominican territory and that this problem could be heightened with the installation of Cuban refugee camps.

Over 1,000 Cubans with permission to enter the Dominican Republic are in Cuba waiting for Dominican authorities to authorize their entry.

The foreign minister said the situation, as well as the granting of facilities for Cubans to travel to Santo Domingo, are being studied.

In early 1994, the Dominican Government suspended granting visas to Cubans, following charges of alleged illegal immigration.

Morales Troncoso's warning not to allow refugee camps to be installed comes as the U.S. Government is trying to have Latin American countries receive thousands of Cubans fleeing from Cuba to the United States aboard flimsy boats.

The U.S. request is aimed at preventing Cubans from staying on U.S. territory.

Last week, U.S. authorities decided to send thousands of Cubans rescued daily by the U.S. Coast Guard to Guantanamo Navy Base in the southeasternmost part of Cuba.

Haiti

Socialist Deputies Denounce National Assembly 'Plot'

FL2608225394 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1045 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] The Social Democratic bloc, in parliament on 25 August, denounced the idea of holding a national assembly as a new plot hatched by the office of Bernard Sansaricq. In statements to the press on 25 August, the day initially planned for this meeting in the national assembly, the deputies of the Social Democratic bloc maintained that execution of this project would be unconstitutional.

The parliamentarians close to Conacom [National Congress of Democratic Movements] admit, however, that they are powerless to thwart Senator Bernard Sansaricq's initiative. Force is on the side of illegality, they explain. Some of them even criticized the slowness of the international community in seeking a solution to the Haitian political crisis.

[Begin recording] [First unidentified deputy, in Creole] We think that these are arbitrary things, even when there are no concrete means of preventing what is being done. Our position is clear: We oppose what is being done, but cannot prevent it. We do not have the means for that. But we are against it because this move will take the country into a more difficult situation than it is in right now.

I would like to add an important detail: According to those legislators who wish to convene the national assembly, Sen. Sansaricq should preside. This in itself will handicap the assembly because Sen. Sansaricq does not have the qualifications for presiding over the national assembly. Until now, Sen. Sansaricq has been hoodwinking the Senate, so if a national assembly is to be held, I do not see how it can take place without putting the parliament in a state of complete unconstitutionality.

[Second unidentified deputy] I believe that any decisions evolving from this national assembly will be null and void.

[Third unidentified deputy] In my opinion, those guys installed the Jonassaint government. They appointed him for good. Now, the international community is stalling for time and using demagoguery. It does not respect the opinion of the Haitian people. That is why the Jonassaint government is still in power. I believe that if the international community wanted to act seriously, and wanted to specifically express its position, a simple telephone call could prompt General Cedras and Jonassaint to resign. [end recording]

Approved Refugees Form Group, Hold News Conference

FL2608235394 Port-au-Prince Signal FM Radio in French 1030 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] A new organization is born: VRA [Voix des Refugies Approuves], the Voice of the Approved Refugees. Its purpose is to raise its voice in support of prospective exiles. From now on, there is an intermediary between the International Organization for Migrations [IOM] and the refugees. VRA held its first news conference [on 25 August]. Kenol Dorvil was on the spot.

[Begin recording, in Creole] [Dorvil] VRA held a news conference on Thursday, 25 August 1994. The purpose of

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this news conference was to provide information to the public on the issue of Haitian refugees, as IOM had suddenly asked them for fingerprints. The speakers, who had already been granted political asylum, call this request arbitrary because according to their own statements, it is a way to facilitate their persecution. These Haitian citizens denounce the Organization of International Migration [OIM] members and the U.S. Embassy, which is supposed to be responsible for the request that means to eliminate Haitian refugees. On the other hand, those people whose [political asylum] requests have already been approved say they are being blocked for no valid reason.

[Unidentified VRA speaker] One important factor is that they ask the people to go to the police department for fingerprinting. We recall that the U.S. Embassy and U.S. Senator Christopher Dodd acknowledged that there are many cases of repression in the country, and that that repression, according to a statement by the U.S. Embassy on 4 April 1994, is being committed by the police and the Army. It is therefore impossible—and we ask them to reconsider this decision—for us to go to the police department for fingerprinting.

[Dorvil] These speakers were five people who published five points they deem important on the Haitian refugee issue.

[Speaker] First point: We must discuss the treatment of approved refugees, including threats and physical persecution. We have as example friends whose requests had been approved and who were then subjected to repression and torture by civilian police auxiliaries and Armed Revolutionary Front of the Haitian People members in our society.

Two, our reaction to the U.S. Embassy, the OIM members, and the international community.

Three, we suspect stall tactics—as with Jean-Bertrand [Aristide], whom they say they will bring back to us. They come with an awful plan aimed at bringing people to the police department so they can find out where we live.

Four, we have decided to denounce the corrections being made in OIM.

Five is the reaction of our parents, who decided to bring OIM and the U.S. Embassy before the court in the event that an approved [for refugee status] people's organization member is victimized or hit by a police member.

[Dorvil] VRA is a new organization in the country. Most of its members are people who had already been approved by OIM [for political asylum], but who cannot travel. Does the fact that these people cannot leave result from the suspension of flights or from maneuvers by the OIM and the U.S. Embassy? The speakers answered these questions in an informal manner. Kenol Dorvil for Signal FM. [end recording]

Permission To Land Denied to Plane With Medicine

PA2708041494 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2300 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] Port-au-Prince, 26 Aug (EFE)—The Haitian de facto government denied landing rights today to an airplane loaded with medicines, and this incident will affect the availability of certain medicines on the Haitian market.

The Haitian Chamber of Commerce complained two weeks ago the administration of U.S. President Bill Clinton, due to the embargo and blockade against Haiti, prevented the access of medicines for people suffering from diabetes.

The U.S. Embassy stated at the time it would be willing to allow the entry of medicines.

The organization called "Voice of the Refugees," which groups more than 1,000 citizens who were granted U.S. asylum, has requested from Clinton a date to be allowed to enter the United States.

Humanitarian Fuel Sealed Since Jun Released

FL2608222194 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1600 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] The Haitian authorities decided to release the humanitarian fuel reserved for non-governmental organizations operating in Haiti. The decision to allow the delivery of the cargo provided by the European Community was reportedly made on Wednesday evening [24 August], following the special Council of Ministers meeting in which members of the Army High Command and economic authorities participated, according to a source close to the Ministry of Finance who wished to remain anonymous. No official note from the governmental institutions has been issued, however, and we noticed that the fuel is still sealed in the tanks of the Shell Oil Company in Thor.

The humanitarian cargo—124,000 gallons of gasoline and 293,000 gallons of gas oil—arrived on 21 June in Port-au-Prince. Since that date, the fuel was placed under judicial seal while the authorities demanded from the persons in charge of the humanitarian tank some duties and taxes.

Trinidad and Tobago

Minister: Government Considering U.S. Request on Cubans

PA2708223494 Paris AFP in Spanish 2141 GMT 27 Aug 94

[Text] Port of Spain, 27 Aug (AFP)—Ralph Maraj, external affairs minister of Trinidad and Tobago, said today the United States has officially asked his country to accept Cuban refugees.

Maraj said his government is considering the request, but he did not indicate whether it will be accepted. He said Trinidad and Tobago and the other members of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) oppose the U.S. embargo against Cuba. Maraj said the U.S. request was submitted to the cabinet.

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Zedillo Declared President With 48.77 Percent of Vote

PA2808135794 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1008 GMT 28 Aug 94

[Text] Mexico City, 28 Aug (NOTIMEX)—The Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) has announced that Ernesto Zedillo, candidate for the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), won last Sunday's presidential elections in Mexico.

IFE Director Felipe Solis Acero informed the press on 27 August that Zedillo received 17,336,325 votes, which represents 48.77 percent of the total number of votes. However, if annulled votes are excluded, the PRI candidate obtained 50.18 percent of all valid votes. Zedillo, 44, will assume his post as Mexican president on 1 December for the next six years, replacing Carlos Salinas de Gortari.

The vote count in the presidential elections has been completed, Solis Acero announced. Nine presidential candidates, including two women, participated in the elections.

Diego Fernandez, candidate for the National Action Party (PAN), finished second with 25.94 percent of the votes, followed by Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, of the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), with 16.60 percent.

According to IFE, 77 percent of the 45.7 million voters—in other words, 35.6 million voters—went to the polls.

In addition to the president, 500 deputies and 96 of 128 senators were elected in the 21 August elections. In some states, including Chiapas, there also were elections for governor and mayor.

Neither the police nor the Army reported any violent incidents during the elections or the vote-counting process.

Although IFE has not yet released the results for the legislative elections, based on trends shown in the presidential elections it is expected that the PRI will remain as the leading force in Congress.

Cardenas said that although he did not declare himself winner, he did not recognize the PRI candidate's victory either, in view of what he described as irregularities in the electoral process. Cardenas also participated in the 1988 presidential elections.

With his victory, Zedillo maintained the PRI's status as the oldest ruling party in the world. This political force has ruled Mexico without interruption since 1929, outlasting the former USSR's Communist Party.

Zedillo replaced PRI candidate Luis Donaldo Colosio, who was killed on 23 March at a campaign rally in the northwestern Mexican city of Tijuana.

One of the next president's immediate tasks will be finding a solution for the armed conflict that broke out on 1 January in the southern state of Chiapas, where a truce continues after the first round of talks failed.

In the economic field, Zedillo will try to keep Mexico's inflation rate within the single digits and similar to those levels now found in the United States and Canada—the two nations with which Mexico signed a free trade agreement that was implemented in January of this year. One of Zedillo's campaign promises was to create new jobs by further stimulating the economy.

According to IFE, Labor Party presidential candidate Cecilia Soto obtained 2.74 percent of the votes, followed by Jorge Gonzalez of the Mexican Green Ecologist Party, who received 0.93 percent.

Rafael Aguilar of the Cardenist Front for National Reconstruction Party received 0.81 percent; Alvarao Perez of the Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution, 0.55 percent; and Marcela Lombardo of the Popular Socialist Party, 0.47 percent. Pablo Emilio Madero of the Mexican Democratic Party finished last.

Electoral Institute Discloses Vote Count

PA2708030394 Mexico City Radio ACIR Network in Spanish 0006 GMT 27 Aug 94

[Statement at a news conference by Arturo Nunez Jimenez, director of Mexico's Federal Electoral Institute, with unidentified reporters in Mexico City; place not given; from the "Evening News Panorama" newscast—live]

[Text] The electoral process has four phases, as you know: preparation for the elections; election day; the results and declaration of election validity; and the affirmation of the election of the president of the republic.

We are in the third phase of the process, results and declarations of election validity, which started when the electoral documents were sent from the polling stations to the district councils. This phase will end with the tallies and declarations to be made by the councils of the Federal Electoral Institute [IFE] or, in this case, by the corresponding IFE resolutions.

During this phase, which started on 22 August, the IFE General Directorate provided preliminary information on the electoral results just as the documentation was being received by the district [one-minute break in reception] plurinominal; that is, the Federal District, Durango, Jalapa, Guadalajara, and Toluca will also be in charge of the tallies that correspond with the elections for deputies, based on the principle of proportional representation in each area. The tallies will allow us to learn the final results of the elections. Contrary to the preliminary tallies, such results are legally decisive in the electoral process, because, according to law, the assignation of posts, which are elected by the people, depend on their validity.

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We are in the phase of compiling the final results and validating the elections. We add the district, the federal district, and the regional tallies during this phase, and they will be the basis for the declarations of validity, issuing the corresponding majority affidavits, and assigning the proportional representative deputies and first minority senators as warranted. This phase is when legal proceedings and defense mechanisms have great significance, because it is when controversies, which could impact the final results of the elections, must be presented and settled.

The work done during this phase is handled primarily by the IFE's local and district councils, and the Federal Electoral Tribunal will resolve any dispute. Let us recall the 1993 electoral reforms eliminated the electoral colleges, which previously definitely qualified the elections for senators, federal deputies, and assembly members. The electoral colleges only qualify the presidential election now. This is practically the most important phase in the process. We can see the work carried out and the results achieved by the Preliminary Electoral Results Program [PREP], the number of polling stations installed on 21 August, the packages received at the district councils, and the results of the district tallies that have been counted so far.

Regarding PREP, we have to note it satisfactorily met the objectives for which it was designed, from the night of elections until 24 August, when the district tallies began. It is good to stress that PREP gave information 45 hours later after the elections ended on the electoral results corresponding to 84,083 polling stations, which represented 87.05 percent of the installed stations. Never before in a Mexican federal elections was so much information of this nature given in a similar period of time. PREP has validated so far the information corresponding to 89,731 polling stations, 92.9 percent of the installed stations.

Based on several reservations expressed in the media, in relation to the consolidation and broadcast of preliminary electoral results, which were reported by PREP after the 21 August elections, the IFE believes it is very appropriate to note and explain some of the program's main characteristics and particularities. We will endeavor to dispel the doubts related to the flow of information during election day and the days that followed.

The PREP was instituted by the IFE General Directorate, in the exercise of powers bestowed by Article 89, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph L of the Federal Code of Electoral Institutions and Procedures to keep members of the General Council and citizens in general abreast of developments in the elections for president, senators, deputies, and members of the Assembly of Representatives of the Federal District.

This program and its systems and procedures were subjected to strict audits before their implementation, both at the National Centers for Receiving Preliminary Electoral Results [Centros Nacionales de Recepcion de Resultados Electorales Preliminares—Cenarrep] one and two, as well as the focal point. This involved the 10 regional focal nodes and the 6,000 remote collection terminals of the 300 collection and transmission centers [Centros de Acopio y Transmision—Cedat].

Political party representatives, the audit firm, and public notaries all participated, vouched for, and witnessed these events in every audit exercise. It is appropriate to mention that the PREP design included a significant amount of information safeguards and procedures to guarantee correct inclusion and to prevent the manipulation of information.

During PREP operations, several questions were raised by political parties and the general public regarding the following topics, which I will now clearly and succinctly present:

A. First, it has been said that the information distributed by PREP to political parties and media representatives through a significant number of terminals or monitors had different totals at certain times. This was due to the program design, which does not allow monitors to be turned off or disconnected, otherwise the flow of information is interrupted and a certain amount of time is needed to update it once the equipment is turned back on. Several users turned off their monitors with the aforementioned described results. It was also reported that during certain predawn hours of 21 August and days after, PREP information did not show changes, or updates were slower than during the day. This is due to peculiarities in the computer system designed to obtain and update information, the equipment workload, the information flow to Cenarrep, and user demand. It is important to clarify that at no time did PREP suspend or interfere with operations to modify the acquired data.

B. In other aspects of PREP operations, several requests for clarification were received regarding a certain residual percentage of electoral polling stations whose results have still not been included in the information distributed by the PREP. With the information gathered as of 1315 on 25 August—information we published today in a paid advertisement—the PREP information flow showed a total of 88,939 polling stations of the 96,395 installed; in other words, 92.27 percent. Of the remaining 7,456 polling stations, 3,509 are polling stations that were counted by PREP in good time but whose information was not added to the main data base for dissemination due to a mistaken reference. Not until the information is verified by a computerized audit designed for these cases will the corresponding information be added to the total electoral results. To avoid any confusion as to the destination of the polling station results that are part of these 3,509 under question, and according to the previously agreed upon audit procedures, on 26 August, in the presence of General Council members or their representatives, as well as the audit office and a notary public, the central computer data base was opened to retrieve the information on the problem polling stations.

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[Words indistinct] grand total of polling stations that had no problems of identification.

Concerning the 3,947 polling stations whose tallies were not received, this occurrence happened because polling station officials mistakenly placed the envelope that should have gone to PREP in the electoral pouch.

District Councils have received the order that all envelopes with information for PREP that are found must immediately be sent to Cenarrep, and the data contained therein must be incorporated into the accumulated data.

All the polling stations involved in this matter have been identified, and efforts are being made to recover the information.

C. As a special case, it has been reported no information had been received from the polling stations in the 16th Federal Electoral District of Jalisco State up to the morning of 22 August. An investigation was carried out, and it was determined the personnel in charge of transmitting the district's data had failed to press the enter key after registering each polling station result. Because of this error, the information failed to be transmitted to the central computer. This situation was immediately corrected, and the transmission and reception procedure functioned without any problem.

D. Another concern is that the political parties are reporting total voting percentages different from the eventual total percentages. This procedure has produced calls for explanations. It must be explained that PREP has received the data on all the votes cast in favor of each and all of the political parties that participated in the elections, excluding only the void votes and those that were cast in favor of nonregistered candidates.

Vote percentages reported by PREP were estimated based on the sum of votes. It must be stated, though, these percentages are in no way the final results of the voting, because the result will be final only when the void votes, the votes for nonregistered candidates, and the votes obtained by parties that do not secure 1.5 percent of the total votes—a necessary condition for a party being entitled to be assigned a proportional representation deputy—are deduced from the total of votes cast of the district vote counts. This will necessarily variate from reported percentages.

E. With regard to the auditing processes designed for PREP operations, it is worthwhile to recall the system is holding computer and operative type auditing at both the central and noncentral levels in the presence of the political parties and notary publics.

The auditing indicates so far there were no irregularities at any phase of the PREP operations. In addition, it has been decided there will be a total audit once the PREP operations are concluded on the computer equipment and systems and on the information contained there to demonstrate there was no intervention of any kind different from that required by the objectives of the program.

Meanwhile, it is advisable to recall that the PREP tally sheets are being gathered at the installations of the IFE headquarters in Cadel and are available to the members of the General Council to be compared to the computer results and to the copies of the tally sheets the representatives of the political parties have. Concerning the report on the installation of polling stations and the delivery of electoral packages, I want to say of the 96,415 polling stations that were approved by the district councils, 96,394 were properly installed on 21 August; that is, 99.88 percent of the polling stations were installed on 21 August, meaning only 21 polling stations were not installed as scheduled.

Of the 96,394 poling stations installed, the district councils received the packages with the electoral files of 96,370 polling stations; that is, only the packages of 24 polling stations have not arrived at the district councils, because some of the packages were burned on 21 August as a result of the incident of the special polling stations.

Finally, concerning the district figures provided by law, I am informing you of the results of the presidential elections at 1630 on 26 August. We have the results of 291 electoral districts. I repeat: We have the electoral results of 291 electoral districts. Concerning the results of the election of federal deputies by simple majority, we have the results of 259 districts. Concerning the results of the election of deputies by proportional representation, we have the results of 213 electoral districts. Concerning the district results for the Senate elections, we have the results of 196 districts. Concerning the Assembly of Representatives of the Federal District, the count has concluded in 19 out of 40 districts for the election of assemblymen by simple majority and in 18 districts for the election of assemblymen by proportional representation.

In conclusion, I want to give the results of the district count of 291 districts, where the number of citizens who cast their votes during the presidential elections, as reported by the district tally sheets, totals 33,875,624. Of these, the distribution of votes and percentages by political party, nonregistered candidates, and voided votes is as follows:

National Action Party: 8,839,212 votes, 26.09 percent;
Institutional Revolutionary Party: 16,556,616 votes, 48.87 percent;
Popular Socialist Party: 160,397 votes, 0.47 percent;
Party of the Democratic Revolution: 5,562,643 votes, 16.42 percent;
Cardenist Front For National Reconstruction Party: 281,977 votes, 0.83 percent;
Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution: 186,307 votes, 0.55 percent;
Mexican Democratic Party: 92,848 votes, 0.27 percent;
Labor Party: 924,734 votes, 2.73 percent;

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Mexican Green Ecologist Party: 308,106 votes, 0.91 percent;
Unregistered candidates: 17,578 votes, 0.05 percent;
null votes: 945,206 votes.

I repeat: These are not preliminary results. These are the results of the district count of 291 of 300 districts established for the presidential elections. We have yet to receive the district count for nine district councils; therefore, this is the information regarding the count legally performed by the district councils in their corresponding sessions.

IFE Confirms Poll Lists Same as Party Lists

PA2608143494 Mexico City XEW Television Network in Spanish 0430 GMT 26 Aug 94

[From the "24 Hours" newscast]

[Text] Up to now, the Federal Electoral Institute [IFE] has compared 92 percent of the polling station lists used during the 21 August election. This is an extraordinary effort when compared with almost all other countries in the world. During a meeting of the General Council of the IFE this Thursday, IFE President Arturo Nunez released a report on the continuing process of comparing the official voter lists with those used at the polling stations during the 21 August election. Jorge Carpizo, the chairman of the General Council, had this to say about the report:

[Begin Carpizo recording] This is extremely important. This is the first of several reports requested by this General Council. I believe this specific report is cause for excitement among the Mexican people. It proves very positive things about the election. The report confirms that the voter registration lists the polling station presidents used are 100 percent the same as those held by the representatives of the political parties. [end recording]

Jorge Carpizo underscored the importance of this report. He was categorical when he said:

[Begin Carpizo recording] This news calls for civil celebration. This is splendid news for the country. [end recording]

PRD's Cardenas Wants Elections 'Cleaned Up or Annulled'

PA2608165994 Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 24 Aug 94 p 6

[Article by Alejandro Caballero and David Aponte]

[Text] Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, leader of the Party of the Democratic Revolution [PRD], has said the presidential elections should be "cleaned up or annulled." A second step would involve the appointment of an acting president and the holding of new elections in the shortest time possible.

As the national directorate of the PRD met to review reports of irregularities in the past elections, Cardenas insisted the results of the elections should not be trusted and that the truth should be made known. Otherwise, we should start thinking about annulling the elections and holding new real and fair elections, for which we would need to change the law and appoint independent electoral authorities, he said.

Cardenas, who met privately with Rosario Ibarra de Piedra and Jose Alvarez Icaza, board members of the National Democratic Convention (CND), said Ernesto Zedillo has no moral authority to convene any dialogue and that he would condition his participation in the drafting of a common platform to the absolute cleanliness of the elections.

"We are not willing to cooperate with anyone who does not have a clear commitment to democracy. Ernesto Zedillo's alleged victory has no democratic legitimacy," he said.

In an interview he said "the filth keeps coming out" little by little, in reference to the irregularities and errors made during the 21 August elections. Among them, he mentioned that at the conclusion of the elections, more ballots appeared than those received by officials at the polling stations at the beginning of the day. He said it went on in more than half of the states in the country.

The opposition candidate said that all the irregularities in the 21 August elections will be documented as soon as possible. "We are going to back our claims of fraud and our findings will be submitted to the proper legal institutions."

He also said it has been proven that the presence of citizens at the General Council of the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) was not enough to prevent the fraud "because they did not finally move the electoral apparatus of the state and did not have the capability to stop any one of the maneuvers that were implemented."

[LA JORNADA] Are you saying the elections must be annulled and new ones must be held?

[Cardenas] They should either be cleaned up or they should be annulled. The one who committed the fraud knows how it was committed. This could be the first step in cleaning it, but if that possibility is closed, we can demand their annumlment.

[LA JORNADA] Would you favor the annulment of the elections?

[Cardenas] I would first demand a cleaning up of the elections, if this is not achieved, I would favor their annulment.

[LA JORNADA] If you ask for the annulment of the elections, we would have to start talking about an acting president.

[Cardenas] That is true.

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[LA JORNADA] Would you propose it under those terms?

[Cardenas] We would propose the annulment of the elections. Anything that would subsequently emerge, we would have to support and accept.

[LA JORNADA] When would new elections be held?

[Cardenas] The sooner the better. We would have to prepare for new elections under acceptable terms, which would require changes to the law. The new elections must not be held under the current conditions, which means an independent group, not electoral thugs, should handle it.

[LA JORNADA] Have you approached any government authority to talk about this?

[Cardenas] No. We are going to make the proposal at the proper moment, both from a political point of view, as well as from a legal point of view.

[LA JORNADA] Have you had any contacts with the members of the Civic Alliance?

[Cardenas] No, not yet... We are going to do so at the proper time.

In the morning, the members of the National Executive Committee [CEN] of the PRD held a meeting in which they gathered and reviewed information on the "most important irregularities" detected during the 21 August elections, including multiple voting, the use of more ballots than the ones handed out, the reduction of electoral registers, citizens who voted without being on the list, and the changing of polling station officials.

After four hours of private sessions, Porfirio Munoz Ledo, national leader of the PRD, said his party will not "legitimize the elections" because there are elements to prompt us to say they were not clean and that the "fraud level was high."

The CEN said there was a high percentage of citizens who were unable to vote. "For this reason, we are going to ask the IFE to install facilities where Mexicans can report the fact that they were not able to excercise their right to vote," he added.

He added that a rational solution to the problem is being sought and that they will fight before the legal institutions, before the Court for Electoral Claims to clear up all those irregularities.

Meanwhile, Congressman Raymundo Cardenas said "there are grounds to initiate a civil resistance, because democracy has not been installed in Mexico."

"People may be tired, but the struggle for democracy and the defense of the vote must continue," he said.

CND Statement on 'Fraudulent' Elections

PA2708150594 Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 25 Aug 94 p 37

[Statement issued by the Board of Directors of the National Democratic Convention in Mexico City on 24 August]

[Text] The Board of Directors of the National Democratic Convention [CND], having evaluated the first reports on the outcome of the 21 August elections, hereby reaffirms its original statement regarding the CND's intention to support the Mexican people's efforts to achieve a peaceful transition to democracy, to put an end to the state party, and to establish a political system based on the de jure state. This is the only way possible to resolve the people's serious social and economic problems. The board also is issuing a call to organize and denounce civil disobedience in order to document electoral crimes, cleanse the election, and, if necessary, demand its annulment. [sentence as published]

The 21 August constitutional election offered an outstanding opportunity to achieve a high degree of participation by the nation's citizens and social and political forces and to achieve a democratic transition. The government, however, chose to uphold the state party system. In doing so, it organized a fraudulent electoral process that is a serious affront to the nation.

The 21 August election was unbalanced, unfair, and fraudulent. Obviously, within a state party regime, electoral competition is not democratic, and in Mexico's case, the inequities are both structural and historical. There is a corrupt and money-minded government that administers public funds politically to buy votes. The Mexican election is also unjust, as the legal reforms have proven to be insufficient. The law still leaves much of the preparation, organization, and evaluation of the election process to the government.

The people were aware of the incidents that took place during the campaign, even before they occurred. The CND and other democratic forces pointed them out before Election Day. Despite this and without fooling ourselves, we decided to promote civil participation in the process; not in favor of a specific candidate, however, but in favor of a program for democratic transition.

The Board of Directors of the CND believes the official figures were affected by profoundly unbalanced conditions. The state party established several mechanisms, including some which are classified as crimes in any election, such as promoting the proliferation of political parties, while at the same time prohibiting electoral alliances among opposition groups, and it allowed the unrestricted use of government resources for propaganda and campaign purposes in favor of the state party. This was achieved mainly by channeling funds through PRONASOL [National Solidarity Program] and PROCAMPO [Program of Direct Support to the Countryside], which in many cases took place one day before the elections. These electoral crimes were reported, but legal prosecution has been practically nil. Other forms of this included total control of the mass media throughout the campaign, specifically radio and television, and particularly during the decisive period when voters made their final choices. It also included the creation of several "observation" and "quick survey" organizations to

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invalidate the efforts the people had made to exercise a certain degree of control over the election results in case of an emergency. Our doctrine and laws classify the unlawful pressure we Mexicans have endured as electoral crimes.

To this we must add the countless number of abnormal situations that surfaced during the election: vote buying, voter intimidation, relocation of polling stations, insufficient ballots, names missing from the list or listed at a remote polling station, voters who were unable to vote at special polling stations because ballots were used up much earlier by soldiers and policemen, and voters being sent here and there while others were sent in circles.

There were polling stations where people voted without showing their credentials or officials did not use the ink approved by the Federal Electoral Institute [IFE]. There were places where voters were intimidated even on Election Day. Incidents included old practices that government propaganda has said were nonexistent: for example, stolen ballot boxes; forced voting in Indian regions; and polling stations located at security forces installations, also known as Mapacheras. The characteristics of these fraudulent activities varied according to the conditions in each place.

The CND has received detailed information showing that a true fraud based on the handling of computers has been committed in the country. Evidence of this is that the publication of the results of the remaining 10 percent of the polling stations has been postponed. The fact that 17 percent of the citizens did not appear on their respective lists, according to an electoral register audit, constituted a "Crazy Super Mouse" operation [operacion de super-raton loco]. Multiple voting was allowed in 32 percent of the polling stations, and voters were "scratched" from the register in 65 percent of the polling stations. Vote secrecy was violated in at least one-fourth of the polling stations.

The preliminary official results of Sunday's presidential elections must be interpreted while bearing various elements in mind. Even though the ruling party is said to have obtained more than 40 percent of the votes, the PAN [National Action Party] more than 20 percent of the votes, and the PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution] less than 20 percent of the votes, it would be a mistake to think this ratio reveals the political inclinations of the Mexican people.

The CND board believes that the high percentage of votes for the ruling party can be attributed to illegitimate mechanisms and to the deliberate manipulation of the mass media, by which alternative plans for the nation were constantly associated with widespread violence and public disorder. We, therefore, believe the vote for the ruling party must not be interpreted as support for the neoliberal project which has divided Mexicans between an impoverished and manipulated majority and a handful of millionaire businessmen.

The elections, as we already knew, were held within the framework of an unfair ruling party system. We learned other lessons from the 21 August elections as well: Despite the political regime and vote manipulations, more than half of the participants voted against the PRI system. Given the political situation in the country, this represents an enormous vote of disfavor against the government and it constitutes the expression of a social base that can potentially fight for a transition to democracy.

Votes were numerous, but absenteeism was only partially reduced because millions of Mexicans were not on the electoral register and were unable to vote. There were apparently more citizens who voted for the PRI in 1994, but there were also more people who voted against the PRI—a clear majority which the fraud could not hide. Votes for the PRI, according a great deal of evidence, not only included the votes of those who supported the government, it also included the old corporate vote; votes that were bought as a result of secret or public commitments made during Zedillo's campaign; the votes of the frightened, which were cast by those who are afraid of change and which were encouraged by the ruling party's propaganda as synonymous with public disorder and violence; and of course, the votes invented at the "security houses" or vote counting centers in which votes were just typed into the computer.

The votes for the PAN, however, almost doubled in relative and absolute terms. The vote for the Cardenist Front for National Reconstruction Party contrasts in the figures with its mobilization and organization capabilities. It was not adversely affected by the government's campaign of discreditation over the last five years and the huge manipulations that existed before 21 August. People who voted for this party constitute the militant base of a broad social movement for democracy and a broad civic opposition alliance for peace, democracy, and social justice.

The evaluations made by those who benefited from the electoral system supported the old order, the continuity of the system, antidemocratic tendencies, and neoliberal injustice. For us, the elections are, on the contrary, a long fight for democracy and justice—a battle that has uncovered the increasing weakness and desperation of the system, as well as its great inertial strength and political resources. It is a battle that demonstrated the strength and active participation of the civic movement for democracy, but also the lack of penetration among the discontent, confused, and frightened majorities.

The CND, since its creation in Aguascalientes, Chiapas, had called on people to vote and to protect the elections, and now, after evaluating the fraud, it calls on people to defend their vote and to conduct a legal and peaceful struggle in order that the people's will is not ignored. We invite all of those who have any evidence of fraudulent practices to notify their state representatives. We call on the state convention members to organize analysis forums, especially those who were "scratched" from the electoral register.

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The CND once again expresses its commitment to peace in Chiapas, its decision to prevent any attack on the EZLN [Zapatist National Liberation Army], and efforts to aid in creating a political framework to continue to strive for the legitimate demands of the Indian and peasant peoples through peaceful means and amid total constitutional guarantees. The 21 August elections and the people's current insurgency are not the final battle, but simply one more fight in a longstanding struggle.

After learning of the official results in Chiapas, reviewing the data supplied to us by the citizens and the multiple irregularities noted in the process, the CND strongly pronounces itself in defense of the victory of civilian society and of the PRD, headed by its candidate Amado Avendano, and supports the mobilization of the people of Chiapas to prevent an illegitimate governor from being installed there.

The CND board calls on all Mexicans to participate in the demonstration in the peoples and citizens' plaza against the electoral fraud in favor of the Chiapas people's struggle against the ruling party, as well as for a transition to democracy at 1200 on Saturday, 27 August.

It calls on all convention participants to join in the "Day of National Dignity for Democracy" at 1000 on Sunday, 4 September.

After the official results of the elections are announced, the CND will convene a consultation with civilian society organizations to establish a People's Electoral Tribunal, which will issue a ruling on the 1994 elections.

The CND demands the pureness of the elections or their annulment if they do not conform to constitutional precepts.

The CND echoes the democratic demands of the EZLN, firmly upholding its quest for peace, rejecting imposed solutions, and supporting efforts that will contribute to secure the political transformations required by the country. Civilian society is assuming its responsibilities and will not cease in its efforts to ensure that republican liberties are established on the road toward peace in Mexico.

The CND board believes it is necessary that a legitimate, multiparty, and representative government, based on the legal order of the republic, be installed with an all-encompassing platform that will create the conditions for a democratic transition. It advocates a broad reform and calls for a Constituent Congress to organize the first democratic elections in the history of our country.

The electoral process is a crucial episode in the long struggle for democracy in Mexico. The people have participated in a massive and unusual manner throughout the intense campaign period, in poll-watching activities, and now, in the wake of charges of irregularities, they are struggling to clean up the elections. The people have continued to participate in an unbridled and unusual manner. This mobilizing force constitutes the solid basis of the new Mexican democratic movement, whose invaluable experiences are already a birthright of the civic struggle. This force and this enlightening experience must be strengthened and preserved.

The CND board fully shares the Mexican people's indignation in light of the fraud and appeals to all to defend their vote and republican liberties, all within a framework of respecting legality, in order to finally secure peace with justice and dignity in an effort to transform the reality of Mexico.

[Dated] Mexico City, 24 August 1994
[Signed] CND President Rosario Ibarra, Vice President Luis Javier Garrido, Vice President Jose Alvarez Icaza, Vice President Antonio Hernandez, and Secretary Mariclaire Acosta

Ecologist Party To Challenge 'Irregularities'

PA2808044294 Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 26 Aug 94 p 15

[Text] The presidential candidate of the Mexican Green Ecologist Party [PVEM], Jorge Gonzalez Torres, said yesterday his party will challenge 1,300 polling stations in which it detected irregularities.

The candidate said some of the irregularities detected in the 21 August elections were the lack of voting materials, the failure of certain party representatives to sign tally sheets, and the presence of voters without voting credentials.

Gonzalez said this information is backed by instant reports prepared by the enterprise Corporate Energy.

The reports covered 1,028 polling stations in the country's interior and 300 in the Federal District. The enterprise found there were irregularities in 80 percent of these stations.

Electoral material was lacking in 220 polling stations; 306 polling stations opened late, and party representatives did not sign the tally sheets in 229 polling stations. The PVEM will challenge the 1,300 polling stations based on this information.

Gonzalez said the PVEM will affirm the accusation it filed against the Institutional Revolutionary Party [PRI], because the PRI spent more than the permitted limit on its political campaign. Gonzalez said his party will fight for recognition of the vote percentage it actually obtained, and he rejected the possibility of this being less than one percent.

Gonzalez said the struggle will be waged within the legal framework, and his party will not carry out demonstrations or take to the streets. He said, however, the Party of the Democratic Revolution is entitled to mobilize its people. The PVEM, he said, will not join the civil resistance.

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Gonzalez said there is a suggestion to make the political parties that are not considered among the three big political forces in the country disappear, but, he said, these forces do not guarantee actual changes. Gonzalez said the PRI-PAN setup in the Chamber of Deputies will continue, and, therefore, there will be no significant changes.

Electoral 'Irregularities,' 'Fraud' Viewed

PA2808001094 Mexico City EL FINANCIERO in Spanish 26 Aug 94 p 39

[From the "Political Indicator" column by journalist Carlos Ramirez: "Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon: Another Morning Surprise. Transition: The Goal."]

[Text] At a time when many of the irregularities committed during the 21 August elections are not yet being resolved and as an unavoidable political struggle is being waged inside the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE), the nervousness of Ernesto Zedillo, the Institutional Revolutionary Party [PRI] candidate, has begun to reappear: The congratulations sent by U.S. President William Clinton for a victory that is yet to be legitimized has constituted the second premature move by Zedillo and is a political lack of respect for the electoral authorities and the participating political parties.

The PRI members should take a good look for the time being at two important facts confirming that the irregularities were many:

1. Pedro Jimenez Zavala concludes "a fraud was, in fact, committed on 21 August." The interesting point is that Jimenez Zavala was chairman of a table at polling station No. 1,109, which was located next to the 11th District in the neighborhood of Gustavo A. Madero, Mexico City. He has said: "I saw how 10 people, who had their voter credentials, could not vote because they were not on the electoral register, even though they were authorized to vote in that section. Approximately 15 people showed up in my polling station who were unable to find their polling station, even though the chairmen of the various stations had supposedly "guided" them to vote nearby. I assisted six people who were unable to vote in the two special polling stations in the 11th District."

2. If he had been able as citizen adviser to attain a republican dignity that could not be subdued, Miguel Angel Granados Chapa has not lost as a journalist his keen sight as a political columnist. He published in his Public Plaza column in the newspaper REFORMA on 25 August: "(The elements of the PRI's victory) were rendered more effective with the deployment of manipulative practices taken from the PRI's most traditional arsenal. Evidence slowly emerged on 21 August indicating that the underlying forces of the supposedly disbanded illegitimate electoral control mechanism are still in effect, not in keeping with the wave of modernization. Such evidence continued to accumulate in the days that followed. Many of the cases had acquired legal density by 24 August when they were exposed before the eyes of the members of the District Council."

The PRI's premature bragging has begun to dissolve amid evidence indicating the clean sweep policy was the product of the most sophisticated methods of electoral fraud. Even the business sector, which had the privilege of giving Zedillo the victory, lost political authority: The radio station Stereo Cien, a member of the National Chamber of the Radio and Television Industry, which conducted a poll in favor of Zedillo, had just taken journalist and economist Enrique Quintana off the air, an act of professional censorship, just because he gave the PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution] an opportunity and broadcast an interview with Eduardo Valle, the Owl, who spoke against the Communications and Transportation Secretariat, which regulates radio and television broadcasts in the country, and its secretary, Emilio Gamboa Patron, for his alleged contacts with drug traffickers.

A veil is slowly being drawn over the PRI's overwhelming victory, and information is being collected that the government, which never lost control of the elections, favored Zedillo. Clinton's congratulation was programmed by the Salinas government for the morning of 22 August, but it was delayed for diplomatic reasons. The IFE's political and legal attributions were overtaken for the second time to the extent that Government Secretary Jorge Carpizo played the same institutional role played by Manuel Bartlett in July 1988 as president of the Federal Electoral Commission.

The list of irregularities is quite long. In addition, the most serious national and international observer groups collected evidence indicating the electoral process was a dirty one. If Zedillo does not want to carry the burden of doubt and electoral illegitimacy, as President Salinas is still doing, he has the obligation to promote a purging of the 21 August electoral process. Zedillo's strategy has been up to now to promote electoral impartiality until the next elections, but, actually, the electoral debate will be increased precisely with the results of the 21 August elections.

Scratching voters off registration lists, crazy mice [ratones locos], merry-go-rounds, phantom voters, erasing peasants from the electoral register, and issuing multiple credentials led to an accumulation of doubt about the electoral register designed to benefit the PRI. The register was based on a census—the same person responsible for the census was responsible for the electoral register—which reduced the population in anti-PRI districts and increased it in tricolored districts. All of these measures contributed to a dirty election process, the antithesis of the high voter turnout. We also have the complex problem of the district committees—which are under the control of governors and PRI members—the purging of which was insistently demanded by the PRD, the San Angel Group, and certain citizen advisers, but

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nothing that could take away from the government's electoral control was given up.

In view of the fading away of the PAN [National Action Party] candidate, the disappearance of the PAN leadership, and the demobilization of the majority of PAN followers, Cuauhtemoc Cardenas is faced with the possibility, as long as he does it seriously by gathering evidence, of heading the protest against the electoral fraud as a way of regrouping the social and political forces that are still working for a transition to democracy. Cardenas must act carefully, however, because the Zedillist sectors—Televisa, Forbes businessmen, the Labor Party and other Salinist parties, doubtful PRI followers, and social organizations on the retreat—are going to want to corner him by calling his actions illegal and to repress him.

Cardenas, with 17 percent of the votes, can take the banner of the transition toward democracy and lead the electorate that voted against the PRI.

Foreign Observers Conclude PRI 'Played Dirty'

PA2808005994 Mexico City EL FINANCIERO in Spanish 25 Aug 94 p 41

[Report by Victor Chavez]

[Text] "The PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party] played dirty, and there are enough reasons to make this statement," concluded foreign electoral observers from seven European countries, the United States, Canada, and certain Latin American countries in their report.

A group of 150 "foreign visitors" who witnessed the 21 August elections held a "forum to discuss their experiences." Tim Wise, executive director of the U.S. organization Grassroots International, has said "granting a Procampo [Program of Direct Support to the Countryside] check in exchange for a vote is not playing straight."

Guido Galli, an Italian visitor, has said "the climate was one of restraint, intimidation, and threats for both voters and opposition political parties at least in the southeastern states where we were assigned to witness the elections."

Marthe Lapierre, a member of the Canadian Foundation for Development and Peace, has said: "We only came to offer a service; but everything we saw confirms the complaints made by Civic Alliance-Observation 94."

"Visitors'" Gripes on the Rise

Even though many of the "foreign visitors" have insisted the elections were clean, this group of 150 observers has been the third delegation to launch strong criticism against the electoral process after the 40 visitors of the Global Exchange and Solidarity Summer spoke about a different situation, in which various irregularities prevailed previously, during the vote and after the vote count.

At the end of the "forum" held by 150 foreign observers out of the 400 who were invited by the Civic Alliance and sent to 20 states throughout the republic, they outlined their conclusions in seven points:

1. Mexicans voted under pressure from government officials, organizations affiliated with the PRI, and the sale of benefits of government programs. The number of citizens that were affected ranges in the millions.
2. The PRI had an enormous edge regarding campaign coverage, despite the mechanisms established to limit such exposure.
3. The PRI had an edge concerning coverage by progovernment media, particularly television.
4. Vote secrecy was systematically violated in 34 percent of the polling stations that were watched as reported by the Civic Alliance, and 17 percent of the voters were pressured by a political party.
5. Many citizens who had their voting credentials were not allowed to vote, because their names were not on the voting list. These abuses were reported by 65 percent of the observers.
6. There were many irregularities regarding the use of indelible ink. Seven percent of the observers has said it was not used with all the voters; 8 percent said polling station officials allowed people to vote without dipping their fingers in the ink, and 7 percent confirmed the ink could be removed.
7. More than 10 percent of the Civic Alliance observers mentioned at least one case of an individual among many who voted, although his name was not on the voting list.

Yoel Perez, of the Defense of Civic Rights Commission of Carabobo University in Venezuela, has argued PRI obtained an "overwhelming" victory in an inconsistent electoral process, adding a great PRI apparatus faced a weak and divided opposition once again.

Tim Wise believes the work done by the Civic Alliance regarding preelectoral conditions was fundamental, because "the equity and the conditions that exist during political campaigns are key to presidential candidates."

PRI Wins 50.4 Percent in Chiapas Gubernatorial Election

PA2608212894 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2117 GMT 25 Aug 94

[Text] Tapachula, 25 Aug (NOTIMEX)—Eduardo Robledo, the official Institutional Revolutionary Party's (PRI) candidate for governor of Chiapas, a state in southeastern Mexico, has apparently won the race, having garnered 50.4 percent of the votes cast on Sunday.

According the Manuel Ovilla Mandujano, president of the state's electoral commission, the count of the 3,152

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polling stations that were set up for the election revealed that 993,367 of the 1,625,863 registered voters had cast their ballots.

Although the PRI hopeful won a majority in the state count with 501,264 votes, 50.4 percent, in the area where there has been conflict Amado Avendano, candidate for the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), collected 73.75 percent of the votes.

That region—Los Altos de Chiapas, which includes approximately 40 hamlets—remains under the control of an armed group that emerged in January to confront the Army and later accept the government's truce.

The armed group held a "National Democratic Convention" in Lacandona jungle, where approximately 6,000 people—intellectuals, labor and peasant leaders—studied the region's pre-electoral situation.

Participants in this encounter agreed to take part in the 21 August elections and to vote against the PRI and that if there were fraud to mobilize civilian resistance.

Voters in that region went to the polling station peacefully, according to official reports. These same reports noted that the PRI candidate won barely 23.43 percent of the votes, while the remaining 2.82 percent was distributed among the other seven parties.

Nevertheless, in the total vote count for governor, the PRD garnered 34.9 percent and the conservative National Action Party came in third in this southeastern state with 9.2 percent of the votes.

According to state electoral law, the state electoral council will release official results of the governor's election on 28 August.

State elections took place in the wake of an extended political campaign in which only the PRI and PRD hopefuls stood out. The PRD candidate, an attorney and reporter, suffered a traffic accident in July that almost forced him to withdraw his candidacy.

After the final results of the voting were made known, Jorge Moscoso, state president of the PRD, argued that there was fraud in the vote count and asked that vote tally sheets be compared and documentation be revised in detail.

This Monday at Marimba Park in Tuxtla Gutierrez, Chiapas' political center, dozens of demonstrators protested the results that showed a PRI victory. They claimed that numbers were fixed and that tally sheets have been altered.

Concepcion Villafuerte, wife of the PRD candidate and director of the San Cristobal's daily newspaper TIEMPO, called on the nation's social, popular, and democratic organizations to join their demonstrations in defense of the vote.

According to Villafuerte, "residents of Chiapas should defend as their own" Avendano's supposed victory. Avendano was the first to report the 1 January uprising of the armed group known as the Zapatist National Liberation Army.

For the time being, the PRD announced that on Sunday it will organize simultaneous marches, meetings, and sit-down strikes in Chiapas' main towns to demand recognition of its gubernatorial hopeful's supposed victory.

Authorities in San Cristobal de las Casas—1,200 km southwest of the nation's capital—announced that they are keeping a close watch in order to prevent incidents, although so far PRD protests have been peaceful.

San Cristobal de las Casas was one of the main towns occupied in January by the armed group that ordered its soldiers to support the development of the elections and that as of Thursday had still not expressed its opinion on the final results of the voting.

PRI Hopeful Named Chiapas Governor-Elect

PA2908045594 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0331 GMT 29 Aug 94

[Excerpt] Tuxtla Gutierrez, Mexico, 28 Aug (NOTIMEX)—The Institutional Revolutionary Party [PRI] candidate for governor of Chiapas State, in the Mexican southeast, was unanimously acknowledged today as governor-elect by the local Electoral College.

The state congress, acting as the Electoral College, termed as legal the 21 August election for governor and unanimously named Eduardo Robledo Rincon governor for the 1994-2000 term as of 8 December.

After acknowledging the state elections during the opening of the second legislative period, the president of the Chiapas Electoral College, Milton Morales Dominguez, delivered the governor-elect credentials to Robledo Rincon.

The state elections for governor and deputies took place together with the elections for president, federal legislators, members of the Chamber of Representatives, Mexico City's legislative body, and local authorities.

The president of the State Electoral Commission, Manuel Obilla Mandujano, said the PRI candidate obtained 500,611 votes, or 50 percent of the total votes.

Obilla said the candidate of the Party of the Democratic Revolution, Amado Avendano Figueroa, obtained 347,633 votes, 34 percent of the votes. [passage omitted]

Security Measures Adopted in Chiapas Following Protests

PA2608150394 Mexico City EL FINANCIERO in Spanish 25 Aug 94 p 49

[Report by correspondent Gabriel Coutino]

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[Text] San Cristobal de las Casas, 24 Aug—Even though the State Electoral Commission (CEE) has yet to release final results of the gubernatorial elections, the post-electoral atmosphere in Chiapas is getting tense. Meanwhile, 53 opposition organizations are awaiting the "green light" from the Chiapas People's State Assembly "to act to defend the people's will."

Moreover, state and federal authorities adopted safety measures in various municipalities, deploying riot police. Likewise, the National Defense Secretariat is moving its troops in the region of Los Altos.

Los Altos Mayor Jose Mario Lescieur Talavera admitted that the police are active in various areas because the municipality in abounding in gossip, rumors, false alarms, and bomb threats.

Experts from the Mexican Army and the Attorney General's Office (PGR) yesterday carried out five simultaneous evictions from federal facilities in Tuxtla Gutierrez, where warnings were issued about the presence of explosive devices.

A mere 72 hours after the heaviest electoral turnout in history, the PRI's [Institutional Revolutionary Party] hegemony is threatened by groups of Indians and peasants in Los Altos, who have said they will defend the people's will. They have also warned they will create their "own power in our neighborhoods, residential areas, villages, and communities."

We will elect our representatives, and we will disown the current ones, said Ramiro Reyes, a peasant from La Trinitaria and spokesman of the CEOIC [State Council of Indian and Peasant Organizations]. "We are evaluating the situation, and we will meet on Friday to settle the final details of the organization," he said.

Interviewed at the Mayan Organization Coordinating Board for Liberation (Corpumali), the peasants are waiting for a "green light" from the Chiapas People's State Assembly to act to defend their vote.

Martin Lopez Munoz, assistant coordinator of the Los Altos de Chiapas Regional Indian Organization (ORIACH), said: "We did not want another war so we voted for the PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution] so that we could have peace in Chiapas."

He said that since the communities cannot explain how the PRI won, the ORIACH reached an agreement to demand that the CEE review all the polling places.

He explained that in conjunction with other organizations they have agreed to appoint an investigating commission and meet with the CEE chairman to demand investigations in Chiapas' 110 municipalities.

"Fraud was perpetrated throughout the state because extra ballots were brought to normal polling places; the IFE [Federal Electoral Institute] and the CEE brought more ballots to the zones identified with the PRI, while the pro-PRD zones were given less ballots," he asserted.

"Some comrades on the voting lists were not allowed to vote; they were sent to the special polling places," he explained.

"My party's victory represents peace and society voted for peace here. We will now celebrate the triumph of democracy and peace," said Lopez Munoz shortly after PRI members demonstrated in San Cristobal de las Casas in support of candidate Robledo Rincon.

He was asked: Is the PRI's victory being celebrated?

He said: No, it is a celebration of peace and democracy.

The coordinator of Robledo Rincon's campaign in Los Altos and Hermisenda Paniagua, PRI district coordinator in San Cristobal, said "any demonstration by a political party is a provocation."

Roberto Serrano Altamirano, leader of the PRI's Revolutionary Youth Front and candidate for federal deputy in the First District, led a motorcade of at least 50 vehicles in Tuxtla Gutierrez.

The demonstrators, who included members of the private sector, cattlemen, and social elite, endorsed Robledo Rincon's victory and stated their support for "the next governor of Chiapas."

Moreover, the PRD leadership announced widespread mobilization of civil resistance will be staged on Saturday and Sunday in the state's four most important cities to coincide with a large rally in Mexico City—to defend the victory of candidates Amado Avendano, as governor of Chiapas, and Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, as president of the republic.

During a rally at Marimba Park, PRD leader Misael Palma said his party's rank and file will gather this weekend in San Cristobal, Palenque, Tapachula, and Tuxtla Gutierrez.

Chiapas Group Declares PRD Candidate Governor-Elect

PA2708162994 Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 25 Aug 94 p 37

["Political Statement" issued by the Democratic State Assembly of the Peoples of Chiapas on 22 August; place not given]

[Text] To the people of Mexico; the peoples of Chiapas: Citizens! Citizens! Listening to the true and direct voice of the people and the communities, the voices of the citizens who through various means have communicated with us, and based on the tally sheets of our polling representatives, we conclude that:

1. The peoples of Chiapas voted en masse in favor of the democratic candidates of civilian society and the PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution]. The peoples of Chiapas came out in favor of a peaceful change to secure a dignified peace. By the people's will, the governor-elect

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of Chiapas is Amado Avendano Figueroa, the man who represents dignity, justice, democracy, and peace for the peoples of Chiapas.

2. The peoples of Chiapas voted against the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party] and the oppression it represents. The men and women of Chiapas voted to banish forever from our country the party of imposition, the party of fraud and corruption.

3. The failed ruling and state party used all of its resources to manipulate and deceive voters through PRONASOL [National Solidarity Program] and PROCAMPO [Program of Direct Support to the Countryside], shamefully misrepresenting the national flag and misusing federal and state resources and the majority of the media.

4. The electoral event prevented thousands of citizens from voting, whether because of a lack of ballots at the polling places or because they were scratched from the voter lists. Efforts were made to buy credentials, as well to buy "consciences," by offering multimillion sums. The well-known strategies of bribes to buy votes, transporting people, tacos [as published], and other phenomena of direct fraud were used. Moreover, the state electoral commission and its officials disseminated manipulated and distorted results of modified tally sheets to favor the PRI, which was unable to win the election at the polls.

Citizens! Citizens!

The Assembly of the Peoples of Chiapas declares that as of today, 22 August 1994, it will begin actions designed to establish a government of democratic transition. The people voted and expressed their will to have a democratic government. As of now, the measures and actions of the government, as resolved in meetings at the level of the ejido; community; assembly; neighborhood; school; workplace; municipality; social, political, and social organizations; cities; and municipalities will begin. The group decision on our proposals and the actions we will stage are acts of the people's will.

5. We appeal to peasants, farmers, fishermen, artisans, workers, teachers, housewives, Indian communities, and the men and women of Chiapas to stage popular rallies from today until 8 December and to define a plan of action and a government program of democratic transition.

6. We appeal for mass participation by the people to express our happiness—the strength of the people's power. We are celebrating the triumph of a quest for peace with justice and dignity. The first statewide actions will be held on Saturday, 27 August, in Tuxtla Gutierrez, San Cristobal de las Casas, Tapachula, and Palenque within the framework of the national mobilization for the defense of the people's will.

We appeal to all citizens to fill with laughter and gaiety all of their homes, houses, communities, ports, and all other places where they find themselves.

7. We call on the social, popular, and democratic organizations of the country to join the national mobilization to defend the people's will and to reject any imposed solutions.

8. We appeal to all of the people to defend the CND [National Democratic Convention] agreements and to regard as theirs the triumph of the peoples of Chiapas, headed by Amado Avendano Figueroa, and his platform that calls for a government of democratic transition, a constituent congress, and a new constitution.

'Thousands' Demand Recognition of PRD Candidate

PA2808023694 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0046 GMT 28 Aug 94

[Text] San Andres Tuxtla, 27 Aug (EFE)—Thousands of people demonstrated peacefully today to demand recognition of Amado Avendano Figueroa, candidate of the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), as governor-elect of Chiapas.

The protests occurred only 24 hours before the State Electoral Commission (CEE) is to declare the candidate of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) the virtual governor of Chiapas.

Demonstrators marched through the streets of the cities of Tapachula, Tuxtla Gutierrez, and Palenque to defend the vote and to reject the alleged electoral fraud of 21 August, when presidential elections were also held.

In the city of San Andres Tuxtla, 1,100 km from the Mexican capital, more than 5,000 people marched through the city's three main streets, while nearly 9,000 peasants and citizens demanded respect for the vote in Tapachula, a city located along the border with Guatemala.

Concepcion Villafuerte, a representative of the Democratic State Assembly of Chiapas [Asamblea Estatal Democratica de Chiapas—AEDCH], said an action plan for peaceful civil resistance against the electoral fraud is being drawn up. She said these mobilizations seek peace, not war, and she charged the print, radio, and television media have been closed to the AEDCH.

"We are going to peacefully struggle; we are going to wage a peaceful civil campaign to demand respect for the people's vote," Villafuerte added.

With participants carrying banners, placards, yellow flags, and the emblem of the PRD, the third most important political force in Mexico, the demonstration was nearly one kilometer long. Demonstrators from the border, uplands, sierra, northern, and Lacandona jungle regions have been arriving in San Andres Tuxtla since the night of 26 August in trucks and buses to participate in the demonstration organized by the AEDCH.

The demonstrators demanded an "exhaustive" vote by vote and ballot by ballot review, "because we will not permit one additional fraud."

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In the archaeological city of Palenque, 1,000 citizens from various towns demonstrated along the streets of this tourist location in what they called a March for Democracy and Peace. Plainclothes and uniformed policemen closely guarded such buildings as the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) during the march.

Manuel Mendez, a PRD representative at the local IFE, charged that 484 ballots in favor of the PRD, 127 for the PRI, and 450 unused ballots were found. He said a complaint was filed at the Attorney General's Office (PGR), which has begun the appropriate investigation, in view of this irregularity.

The PRD demonstrators freed in Tapachula approximately 160 undocumented Central Americans who were being held at the Immigration Service checkpoint at El Manguito, through which the march passed.

While the demonstrations were being held, Robledo Rincon, the elected PRI candidate, said in the central park in Tuxtla Gutierrez that more than 1 million people of Chiapas went to the polls on 21 August to express their will. He said there will have to be national reconciliation among all the people of Chiapas "without rancor, insults, or revenge."

Meanwhile, ranchers and the PRI faction of the State Council of Indian and Peasant Organizations (CEOIC) announced they will stage a protest in front of the state congress on 28 August to demand respect for the vote.

EZLN Alleges Fraud in Chiapas Governor Race

PA2808134394 Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 26 Aug 94 p 21

[Communique issued by the Clandestine Indian Revolutionary Committee-General Command of the EZLN; "from the mountains of southeastern Mexico" on 24 August; words in italics as published]

[Text] To the people of Mexico:

To the peoples and governments of the world:

Brothers:

The Clandestine Indian Revolutionary Committee-General Command [CCRI-CG] of the Zapatist National Liberation Army [EZLN], following the 21 August 1994 elections, *referring only to the election for governor of Chiapas State*, hereby states:

1. The EZLN kept its word and did not interfere with the 21 August elections in any way. Our forces did not obstruct the installation of polling stations or hamper the free movement of electoral authorities, political party representatives, or reporters at any time during the election process.

2. After having retreated to our positions in the mountains, the EZLN insurgent troops have retaken their positions within rebel territory. None of the Zapatist fighting forces voted. Nevertheless, this action was taken to allow the civilian population living in the conflict zone to vote normally. As observers and the media have confirmed, the elections took place amid absolute calm within Zapatist territory—something the government cannot say about several state capitals.

3. Regarding the election for governor of the state of Chiapas, today, 24 August 1994, at 2200, the CCRI-CG of the EZLN continues to receive reports from its observers. These observers are located at polling stations in the rural areas of Chiapas, which include border zones, coastal regions, highlands, northern Chiapas, mountains, Fraylesca, and the Lacandona Jungle. They are also in Tuxtla Gutierrez, San Cristobal de las Casas, Comitan, Arriaga, Tapachula, Palenque, Ocosingo, Altamirano, Las Margaritas, Pichucalco, Cintalapa, and Copainala.

4. Serious irregularities have surfaced before, during, and after the elections. For example:

The EZLN intercepted communications between the municipalities and the state capital and was able to confirm that Amado Avendano Figueroa, the civilian population's candidate for governor, won the election by a two-to-one margin over the Institutional Revolutionary Party [PRI] candidate.

A PRONASOL [National Solidarity Program] truck was seen in Palenque Municipality loaded with ballot boxes filled with PRI votes. The original boxes were switched for these, after which the witnesses to this fraud were paid 1,500 new pesos for their silence.

This was repeated in the Indian highland regions. There, ballots marked for a party other than the PRI were marked a second time so they would later be annulled. When officials at the polling stations realized the voting trend was running against the PRI, they closed the station, claiming there were no more ballots left.

Despite the determination of the people of Chiapas to express their will, the number of ballots at special polling stations and the large number of policemen and federal soldiers voting there prevented a great many of them from exercising their right to peacefully elect their leaders.

In the Sierra Madre mountain region, vote "promoters" suddenly appeared on Election Day to incite Indians to express their rejection for the PRI... by scratching out the PRI logo on the ballot [which would actually constitute a vote in favor of the PRI].

Migration officials along the border had Central American immigrants vote for the PRI in exchange for helping them migrate and by promising them free transit to the United States.

At refugee shelters, displaced peasants were invited to vote for the PRI. They were told they would loose their food rations if they did not.

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5. The fraud was contrived before the elections. When the government realized that not even this would guarantee a victory, it resorted to switching and pillaging ballot boxes, doubling tally sheets, and the well-known "mad mouse," "carousel," and "tamale vote" ["raton loco," "carrusel," y "voto tamal"] tactics. It was impossible to turn back the trend running against the PRI candidate even with these schemes. Therefore, the government, in complicity with the media, is now trying to present Robledo Rincon as the victorious candidate by using computer fraud techniques when processing the vote from polling station tally sheets.

6. The EZLN hereby calls on the people of Chiapas to defend their will, to ignore the lies broadcast over the government media, and to carry out peaceful and civil demonstrations to reject the fraud.

7. The Federal Army is aware of the magnitude and nature of the fraud. It monitors all communications within Chiapas State and has heard the arrangements made between the state capital and the municipalities to counter the votes against the PRI. This is why the Army has reinforced its positions and resumed its day and night sorties over Zapatist positions. It is expecting a Zapatist response.

8. If the elections were as "clean" and "transparent" as they say, why are the federals worried about Zapatist movements? Why does the government media insist so much on the "legality" of the elections? The supreme government has once again placed its bet on an enormous lie in an effort to demobilize the people. It will be defeated one way or another.

DEMOCRACY! FREEDOM! JUSTICE! [uppercase as published]
From the mountains of southeastern Mexico
[Signed] CCRI-CG of the EZLN
[Dated] Mexico, August 1994

EZLN's Marcos Issues Communique on Elections

PA2708191894 Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 26 Aug 94 p 22

["Postelectoral communique" issued by Subcommander Marcos of the Zapatist National Liberation Army (EZLN) to the weekly newspaper PROCESO, the national newspapers LA JORNADA and EL FINANCIERO, and the San Cristobal de las Casas newspaper TIEMPO; "from the mountains of southeastern Mexico" on 24 August—all uppercase words as published]

[Text] Gentlemen:

This is a postelectoral communique. Only the gringos believe that story about the 50 percent and the "clean-sweep policy" (which is the reason behind their international policies). Come on! Their tactic is to repeat a great lie until it becomes a truth. They are going to make a mistake again, and everything will collapse as in January. All that is required is a slight blow....

Here is to you: good health and a good pair of lungs.

From the mountains of southeastern Mexico

Insurgent Subcommander Marcos

Mexico, 24 August 1994

P.S. WHO SAYS "NO." Do not heed the editorialists, the moneros [as published], the television, or the radio. Do not hesitate. Do not sell yourselves. Do not surrender yourselves. Do not let others overwhelm you. Do not be afraid. Do not keep quiet. Do not rest.

P.S. For candidates with about 50 percent of the votes. The tape recorder is playing that tune: "Life is full of surprises, Mariana. Life is full of surprises. The higher we fly, Mariana, the harder the fall."

P.S. Insurgent to raccoon-hunter. Carpizo's virus is only an excuse to divert attention and "readjust" the computers so that there will not be any irregularities after the computerized count.

P.S. Who answers the question "and now what?" Read Chapter 14 (or is it Chapter 24?) of the second part of DON QUIXOTE. Yes, the one on the adventure of the man of the mirrors. You are welcome.

P.S. Who tells a story to a Tonita who shows off a stuffed bunny that convention participants gave her, and "this one does not bite," she tells me....

And then, I turn a deaf ear and begin to tell, off the bat, a story from 1985, a year of tremors and civil emergencies (the ones that emerge and the other sort):

Old man Antonio shot a mountain lion (a species similar to the American puma) with his old musket (flintlock). Days before that, I had made fun of his weapon. I told him: "These weapons were used when Hernan Cortes conquered Mexico." He replied: "Yes, but look who is wielding it now." By this time, he was cutting the last strips of hide to tan it. He proudly showed me the hide. It was intact. "Right in the eye," he gloated. "It is the only way to leave the hide untouched," he added. I asked: "What will you do with the hide?" Old man Antonio did not answer me; he was quietly scraping the lion's hide with his machete. I sat next to him and, after filling my pipe, I tried to roll a cigarette for him with "corn husks." I handed it to him silently; he looked at it and took it apart. "It is not done yet," he told me as he began to fix it. We sat down to share the smoking ceremony.

Between puffs, old man Antonio began telling the story:

"The lion is strong because the other animals are weak. The lion eats others because they let him do it. The lion does not kill with his claws or teeth. The lion kills with his look. First, it stalks its prey... silently, because it walks on clouds, which muffle any noise. Later, it leaps and knocks its victim down—a blow that conquers not out of force but, rather, because of its sudden nature.

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"After that, it stares at it. It stares at its prey. This way... (and old man Antonio frowned and stared at me with his black eyes). The poor little animal that is going to die only looks at the lion staring at him. The little animal cannot see itself anymore, but sees his image in the lion's stare. He sees that in the lion's stare he is small and weak. The little animal did not see itself as small and weak; it saw itself only as an animal—neither large nor small, neither strong nor weak. But now he sees himself reflected in the lion's stare, and he sees fear. And seeing himself being stared at, the animal becomes convinced, on his own, that he is small and weak. And, in the fear he sees reflected in the lion's stare, he becomes scared. Then, the animal does not see anything anymore; he feels his bones becoming numb as when one is caught in the rain in the mountains on a cold night. Then, the animal simply surrenders, gives up, and the lion mercilessly gobbles him down. That is how the lion kills. He kills by staring. But there is a little animal that does not act that way. It ignores the lion when the lion blocks its way, and it continues its course as usual. If the lion smacks him and lashes out with its claws, which can hurt despite its small size, this little animal does not surrender to the lion because he cannot see the lion's stare.... it is blind. They call these animals 'moles.'"

Old man Antonio apparently finished his story. I would have said, "yes, but...." Old man Antonio did not let me finish; he continued his story while he rolled himself another cigarette. He did this slowly, looking at me every now and then to see whether I was paying attention.

"The mole became blind because instead of looking toward the outside, it began to look into its heart. It got stuck looking inward. The mole stubbornly looks into the heart, and it is not concerned about being strong or weak or large or small because the heart is the heart and cannot be measured as things or animals. But only the gods can look inward, and therefore, they punished the mole by making him blind and dooming him to live and walk underground. Therefore, the mole lives underground, because the gods punished it. The mole did not care much because he kept looking inward. This is why the mole is not scared of the lion, and neither is the man who knows to look into his heart.

"The man who knows how to look into his heart does not see the lion's strength; he sees his heart's strength, and then he stares at the lion. The lion sees that the man is staring at him, and it realizes from the man's stare that it is only a lion. The lion realizes it is being stared at, and it becomes scared and runs away."

"Did you look into your heart to kill this lion?" I interrupted. He replied: "Me? No way. I aimed the shotgun at the lion's eye, and I simply fired.... I did not even remember the heart...." I scratched my head, following the local custom when they do not understand something.

Old man Antonio rose slowly, grabbed the hide, and examined it carefully. Then, he rolled it up and handed it to me. "Take it," he told me. "I am giving it to you so that you will always remember that you can kill the lion and kill fear by knowing where to look...." Old man Antonio turned around and went into his shack. In old man Antonio's language, that means: "I have finished. Good-bye." I put the hide inside a nylon bag and left...

Tonita does the same and leaves with the stuffed bunny "that does not bite." Beto tells me, to comfort me, that he has a dead opposum, which his mother already told him to get rid of, and which he would give me for five bladders [vejigas]. I reject his offer kindly, but one of the cooks hears the offer and offers Beto three bladders. Beto hesitates. The cook argues that one of the bladders is green, the other white, and the other red. Beto insists on his initial offer of five bladders. The cook offers two bladders and two condoms. Beto hesitates. I left while the bargaining was still on.

That was the story of Antonio and the lion. I have carried the lion's hide since then. We had wrapped the flag we presented to the National Democratic Convention in it. Do you also want the hide?....

Here is to you again: good health and one of those glasses that are used to look inward....

From the mountains of southeastern Mexico
Insurgent Subcommander Marcos
Mexico, August 1994

Mediator in Chiapas Conflict: Elections Portend Hope

PA2808034494 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0610 GMT 27 Aug 94

[Excerpts] San Cristobal de las Casas, 26 Aug (NOTIMEX)—Bishop Samuel Ruiz Garcia, the mediator in the Chiapas conflict, said today the recent Mexican elections portend hope. He also said the people must continue making democratic progress.

Analyzing the electoral process, Ruiz Garcia said in this city of Chiapas State a large citizen participation—preliminary estimates indicate it was more than 75 percent—is auspicious.

The bishop said recent political reforms permitted the uncovering of alleged "irregularities that stained the electoral process."

"We reprobate the attitude of those Christians who participated in the manipulation of votes," Ruiz Garcia states in a document published with his signature and the stamp of the dioceses he heads.

The religious leader said "considering the authorities' expressed will to correct" errors, it is necessary "to report this situation to the legal authorities."

Ruiz said "it is up to civil society to continue working for a peaceful transition to democracy through the peaceful

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resistance and protest assumed by the National Democratic Convention," in reference to the activities of the Zapatist National Liberation Army [EZLN]. [passage omitted]

Ruiz said: "Violence is no road to democratic transition. There are other roads, such as responsible work and unity." The bishop reported the EZLN committed itself during the convention to maintaining the virtual truce that has been in effect since 12 January.

Ruiz said "the deplorable social, economic, and political situation in Chiapas and throughout the country is a manifestation of an unjust international system imposed on many Third World countries."

This situation, Ruiz said, prompted certain social groups "to publicly manifest themselves in various ways" in order to buttress their aspirations for profound changes that may lead to new government structures the country needs.

Editorial Clarifies Civic Alliance Information on Elections

PA2908003494 Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 25 Aug 94 pp 1, 14

[Commentary by Sergio Aguayo Quezada, president of the Mexican Human Rights Academy: "Explanations"]

[Text] Because this is no time for confusion, I feel compelled to make certain clarifications about the information the Civic Alliance has presented on the 21 August elections. The first clarification I must make is that these comments reflect my personal opinion.

The Federal Electoral Institute [IFE] General Council met yesterday. Porfirio Munoz Ledo, president of the Institutional Revolutionary Party [PRI], used during the session certain figures from the report on the stratified poll [muestra estratificada], which was conducted by the Civic Alliance and presented the day before, to back his argument that the percentage of voters who did not appear on the voting lists was around 30 percent.

He is wrong, and his error is due, at least in part, to the fact the Civic Alliance report leads to confusion. The report states the phenomenon of citizens who have voting credentials but whose names were left off the voting lists occurred in 65.13 percent of the polling stations. This occurrence does not mean this percentage is of voters who had this problem, but this situation was detected in 65.13 percent of the polling stations that were observed. The exact number of people who were affected has not been determined, because all the information is not available yet.

Certain people have interpreted those linguistic ambiguities as a confirmation the Civic Alliance is not an organization of the people but, rather, a facade of opposition parties. The explanation is not as harsh: The pressure of quickly presenting the reports limited the accuracy of such important documents. Another factor that affected the contents of those reports was the need to consult a great number of groups and to reconcile various opinions, something which was not always done. These are normal consequences of the plurality and integrity of the Civic Alliance.

The situation has worsened, because the reports issued by the Civic Alliance have become part of the disputes among political parties. When the Civic Alliance's rapid vote counting indicated in the early hours of 22 August that Ernesto Zedillo was winning, his supporters smiled satisfied. When the list of irregularities was published, the PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution] members used it in order to confirm a huge fraud had prevented Cardenas from winning the elections.

Therefore, I feel it is necessary to make another clarification. Ernesto Zedillo won the elections in my opinion, and I believe it would be very difficult to change that reality even if we count all the irregularities detected up to this date.

Accepting the PRI candidate's victory does not mean many citizens are satisfied with the manner by which he won. There were numerous injustices and irregularities that unfairly favored him during the electoral process as well as on election day. That could explain the high percentage of votes he received. I believe it is important to purge the process at this time so that the figures will faithfully reflect the will of the people.

From that perspective of the people, the quality of the elections and not the result is what matters. As national observers and foreign visitors deliver their reports and as testimonies and documented evidence are received, indignation continues to grow. Watch and see.

A few more days will be necessary to computerize the information and indicate that the civil rights of hundreds of thousands of people were not respected, and how ashamed we should feel for what is still happening in our country. Zedillo won; that point is true, but his supporters imposed their will in many parts of the country by violating procedures and electoral laws. I insist many of us are not offended by the PRI's victory but, rather, by the manner in which it was obtained.

Meanwhile, those of us who had closely observed the procedures that were used felt indignant first and angry later upon seeing the frivolous hastiness a great number of actors and observers (national and foreign) had used to proclaim victories and issue certificates of electoral fairness.

That kind of attitude can further polarize people and encourage those who won to ignore the political liberalization. We will return in this case to the old history of postelection conflicts in very close state elections. It is possible, contrary to the large turnout we saw on 21 August, people will become discouraged by the little effectiveness that votes seem to have as an instrument for change.

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One of the main political challenges we have at this time is to begin dissolving the corrosive doubts around the elections. The problem is not the Civic Alliance's observations but, rather, what many of its members witnessed. The alliance can disappear, but skepticism will not necessarily go away. They will only disappear when elections are reliable.

Editorial: Assessment of Elections Positive

PA2908023294 Mexico City EL FINANCIERO in Spanish 23 Aug 94 p 35

[Commentary by Alejandro Ramos Esquivel: "File 94; Time for Change"]

[Text] The assessment of the 21 August elections, apart from any doubt about its procedure, is positive due to, among other reasons, the large number of people who participated and the expressed desire for a change in the country.

Although PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party] candidate Ernesto Zedillo appears to be the winner in the presidential election, it is evident few voters want to regard him as a candidate of continuity. He is expected, once he assumes power, to eradicate evils, separate the PRI from the government, and make good his campaign pledge to turn Mexico into a less imbalanced country, a country where everyone can be respected.

The challenge is not an easy one for Zedillo, because, as Diego Fernandez de Cevallos has aptly said, Zedillo's candidacy and electoral victory are the result of an unequal process in which whoever would have been PRI's candidate could have relied on the apparatus of the PRI government, which is, more or less, concealed support.

Contrary to what the U.S. press says, "fair" elections do not mean only the majority of votes for a candidate or the absence of irregularities during the elections or the vote count. This concept in Mexico means, and should mean in the future, to break the strong ties between the government and the official party at least and stop using financial resources and indirect pressure that put it at an advantage over the opposition parties.

Judging from the partial results of the elections, it will be very difficult for any one party to report fraud, particularly because the second stronger electoral force, PAN [National Action Party] seems willing to accept the vote count as good in general. Not so the PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution] or Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, who has openly reported fraud. The PRD has already held several protests in the capital and the interior of the country. Although this type of struggle appears to be respectable, it does not appear to be the proper manner to attain the change Mexico requires.

For this reason, once the majority of the people decides the course of action should be a peaceful one, Zedillo's responsibility, if he wins, will be greater, because he would commit a genuine fraud if, once in office, he fails to stimulate the changes the country is demanding, including balance between the state's various branches and the end of the old habit of concentrating power in the president.

As has been stated many times, democracy is not spent but, rather, starts to live at the ballot boxes. Clearly, although the majority believes we had reasonably pure elections, Mexico and its political system in particular still suffer from a backwardness that must be corrected in the most diverse areas, especially in the way the so-called power clique works. The next few days, weeks, or months will present a panorama of political excitement, which will last until the next government assumes office.

The results of the elections, particularly the presidential election, will undoubtedly be the object of varied controversy and arguments. To find reasonable and satisfactory answers for everyone is a special challenge the nascent Mexican democracy faces in this time of change.

Consequently, the proper manner for a peaceful transfer of power, without political or social problems, demands clearing all doubts on the nature of the elections. It is necessary to first clarify the operation of the alleged parallel vote count centers that are located in Puebla and Sonora and reported by the opposition before the elections. As can be seen, the path to democracy is long and fraught with difficulties. This reason is why we must start walking on it.

Editorial Views 'Other Six' Political Parties

PA2908041794 Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 24 Aug 94 p 2

[Editorial: "The Other Six"]

[Text] Six political parties that presented candidates to the federal elections had no possibility beforehand of any electoral victory. Some of them have been described as government appendixes whose objective was to take votes from the opposition. All were slighted in all the polls, and all were contemptuously categorized by certain political leaders as a childish prank.

First: The people who voted for the Labor Party [PT], the Popular Socialist Party [PPS], the Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution [PARM], the Cardenist Front for National Reconstruction Party [PFCRN], the Mexican Green Ecologist Party [PVEM], and the Mexican Democratic Party-National Opposition Union [PDM-UNO] have no percentage weight but do represent a considerable number of people who do not agree with the platform of the country's three big political forces (the Institutional Revolutionary Party [PRI], the National Action Party [PAN], and the Party of the Democratic Revolution [PRD]).

In other words: Many citizens demonstrated their civic-mindedness and went to the polls, but only to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with the political organizations that captured the majority of the votes cast on 21

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August, considering it is hard to believe any of those who voted for the small parties cuddled any hope of victory, except, in very rare cases, at the municipal level.

Second: The growth (keeping in mind proportions) of both the Labor Party and the PVEM is noteworthy.

As election results from the rural areas are tallied, the vote percentages obtained by those parties indicate a significant declining trend, meaning the bedrock of these parties is, predominantly, in the urban areas.

Were we to compare the long-lived PARM and PPS with the PT and the PVEM, virtual political newcomers, the latter represent (in relative terms) significant wonders.

The PT invested substantial resources in propaganda to promote its candidate, Cecilia Soto, to the extent that many of Mexico City's important streets and avenues were literally covered with that party's posters.

Because the PT is a new force, a question is obligatory: From where did it obtain the funds to finance a propaganda campaign that must have required an incalculable amount of money in the Federal District alone? It is necessary to do something: To investigate the origin of these funds, even if the finding serves only to clear (or confirm) rumors.

The PVEM's campaign expenditures were, comparatively speaking, very low. This party apparently earned the approval of citizens more concerned with the environment than with the nation's political structure.

The majority of the small parties are devoid of real support today. In this context, the total erosion of political parties such as the PPS and the PDM, which will represent some day the extremes of opposed ideologic signs and at the same time social segments that do exist, regardless of how small they might be, is symptomatic and, to a certain extent, unfortunate.

The six minority political forces, which together will be far from reaching 10 percent of the total votes, once the final tally is known, have channeled the discontent of those people who are unhappy with a "three party" system, which is now characterized by an undisguisable crack.

'Two Contradictory Messages' Seen in Elections

PA2808190294 Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 23 Aug 94 p 2

[Editorial: "Society's Two Messages"]

[Text] As returns from Sunday's elections continue to be released, the unprecedented reach of the people's participation in that civic act is being confirmed. A voter turnout of more than 70 percent gives this election enormous significance in terms of the country's history, and it constitutes a very respectable figure when compared with voter turnout rates in nations such as the United States (55 percent), Canada (69), Switzerland (45), and Spain (64).

This encouraging trend of this substantial support for the election process connotes a good deal of popular credibility and legitimacy for our electoral institutions and norms. Nevertheless, the charges of irregularities and unfair conditions issued by the PAN [National Action Party], PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution], and Civic Alliance/Observation 94 should not be ignored. In order for the nation to take full advantage of the progress made in the civic arena during Sunday's elections, it is necessary that any grievances be resolved in full compliance with the law. The 21 August elections must be free from implications of irregularities. Once any flaws that may have occurred during the elections are gauged and corrected as much as possible, these elections will constitute a reference point in the establishment of democracy in Mexico.

With absenteeism reduced to less than 30 percent, the political formula proposed by the ruling party (the party which, according to partial results, garnered nearly 50 percent of the vote) has proven that it has gained considerable support. Nevertheless, within this same context of high voter turnout, the people gave two opposition parties—albeit, when they are added together—an equally large amount of votes. If the trends inherent in the partial results are confirmed, the leading issues brandished by PAN and PRD members will have to be considered. These issues can quickly be answered in two ways: by rectifying the current economic policy, as shown by the exit poll [previous two words in English] of the National Chamber of the Radio and Television Industry; and by ending the unhealthy relationship between the PRI and the government—a relationship that was the source for most of the irregularities denounced so far and which have engendered subsequent grievances and claims.

In short, according to returns counted up to this point, Mexican society seems to have sent two contradictory messages on 21 August. Nevertheless, these two equally important messages must be reconciled for the sake of promoting the country's peaceful progress. One message favors the ruling party, while the other expresses opposition to this party and the government, the relationship between the two, and the prevailing economic policy.

Article Notes Challenges Facing Zedillo in U.S. Ties

PA2708154394 Mexico City UNOMASUNO in Spanish 26 Aug 94 p 24

[Commentary by Rafael Laveaga R.]

[Text] Now that we know who the next Mexican president will be beginning on 1 December, it would be advisable to reflect on the most important challenge the next president will face under the current state of relations with the United States.

Before pointing out the challenges, however, we must first recognize the great achievement of the six-year

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period that is about to conclude: The governments of Mexico and the United States took advantage of their similarities and, at the same time, avoided the differences that adversely affected their relations as a whole. Today, the "unavoidable interdependence" of which Stanford University Professor Clark Reynolds once talked about is truer than ever.

Nevertheless, despite our strong ties, despite the rapprochement of our governments, and despite the "Houston Spirit"—the name given to this new era of cooperation in our bilateral relations—the current U.S. Administration lacks a commitment, and this could significantly hurt the state of our relations.

Although Mexico is undeniably important to the United States, the truth is that our country has recently been unable—something that was not the case during the George Bush administration—to stir up the constant interest of high-level officials in the current U.S. Administration. Moreover, since the departure of Clifton Wharton as assistant secretary of state, there is no one in William Clinton's cabinet with interest in and knowledge of not only of Mexico, but of Latin America in general. One possible exception to this rule is Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen, former chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, who enthusiastically promoted NAFTA and who is a personal friend of Mexican Finance Secretary Pedro Aspe. The rest of the cabinet has decided to delegate the handling of relations with Mexico to low-level officials—sometimes, very low-level officials. To this fact we can also add other existing elements in support of this thesis.

While Attorney General Janet Reno views with distrust the many changes taking place within the office of her Mexican counterpart, recently appointed White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta has openly recognized his ignorance concerning international issues and spends most of his time promoting the president's legislative proposals. Anthony Lake, the respected National Security adviser, concentrates his efforts on reviewing global security and those countries threatening it. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, overwhelmed by the Middle East peace process and the Cuban crisis, is fighting to dispel rumors of his possible resignation and has also decided to delegate U.S. relations with Mexico to low-ranking officials. "It is not that they do not want relations; what is happening is that they have other priorities," according to one U.S. State Department official who asked not to be identified. The official said he agreed that there indeed exists a de facto lack of interest.

Goodwill and the existence of priorities are, without a doubt, true. Clinton has shown tangible signs of his interest in helping our country in times of crises. Moreover, since the beginning of his political campaign, it was made very clear that the domestic agenda and not foreign policy would be the center of his attention. However, with or without valid justification, the fact is that this lack of continuity in the U.S. cabinet's interest in Mexico could hardly bring us any benefits. Do we perhaps need another crisis to grab their attention?

The next Mexican president must and should recover the "Houston Spirit," because this would allow him to efficiently face what emerges as his other great challenge: to determine where the limits are in the wake of NAFTA, which means he has to determine these limits and make Washington know about them. He has to determine to what extent we are committed to the United States in matters that are not directly related to the trade agreement.

If we allow a commitment to be wasted—one that has proven its effectiveness in the recent past—and if we allow this negative trend to continue—namely, the lack of interest among high-level officials in the neighboring country—soon the chiefs of low-level offices in the U.S. capital will be making decisions and reaching agreements with the Mexican cabinet. This is neither the "Houston Spirit" nor the spirit of the NAFTA, and it certainly is not the spirit with which Ernesto Zedillo would like to approach the complex power structure in Washington.

Editorial on Process of Incorporation, Zedillo

PA2908035594 Mexico City UNOMASUNO in Spanish 23 Aug 94 p 2

[Editorial: "Zedillo: Common Government Platform"]

[Text] The exercise of democracy cannot conclude once voting has concluded. It must continue with participation in government activities and, especially, in the building of a country where all the political forces may participate in deciding the path of the nation. We are at a suitable moment for initiating a broad process of incorporation, for creating a state that must have its main characteristic in plurality and its main tool against violence and desperate actions. Democracy does produce election winners, but it also opens the door so all the political forces may legally contribute to the edification of the Mexico we all want.

What Ernesto Zedillo has said in receiving the support of Institutional Revolutionary Party [PRI] leaders and militants of the Federal District is very important. He has said: "Campaign differences must remain behind. Points of agreement are now becoming more important. We have joined efforts for electoral democracy; let us now be united to secure the development and justice Mexico deserves. We all want a democracy where the political parties may coexist in order to build a consensus without sacrificing diversity."

This is an appeal that seeks, without being arrogant, Mexicans' unity in a dialogue capable of strengthening democracy and legality.

Ernesto Zedillo's appeal to all the political parties to participate in the construction of a common government platform gives an important quality to the next six-year term. The winner of the election will not govern for one political party only, and the country's development will

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not depend on one point of view. We are watching the position of a man who has decided to champion the plurality the country wants and is now preparing to govern for all Mexicans.

The importance of Zedillo's speech is not limited to his acknowledgment of political diversity as the only way of maintaining and strengthening democracy. If the next government values all the opinions that exist in the country, then it would be closing the doors to intolerance and, therefore, will eliminate violence and extremism.

The call for a common government platform makes it obligatory for the other political forces of the country to act accordingly. These forces can contribute to the creation of a plural nation. This point is why they are obligated to assume their commitments, to refuse to engage in any act of violence, and to cooperate in the construction of the Mexico we all want.

Business Sector Confident of Growth After Elections

PA2608134594 Mexico City EL FINANCIERO in Spanish 23 Aug 94 p 24

[Report by Leticia Rodriguez Lopez]

[Text] The way in which the electoral process evolved and the results so far have effected a positive change in the private sector's economic outlook for this year: higher growth, more investment, lower interest rates, and a possible job gains.

Growth of over 2 percent is expected now, whereas before the elections the sector's projections for economic growth were between 1 and 1.8 percent.

Business Coordinating Council [CCEE] President Luis German Carcoba Garcia said that a recovery of above 2 percent would be the platform from which to grow from 4 percent to 5 percent next year, which will allow for the creation of more productive jobs.

He also felt that interest rates will drop and that by the end of 1994 they could range from 10 to 11 percent.

Participation by the people, which surpassed expectations, gives certainty and security to the economic process and substantially reduces any risk, Carcoba Garcia said.

Mexico is going through a new phase. Society chose this phase in casting its vote. Now we can pick up the pace again in economic growth that was somewhat hurt by political events.

Full confidence exists, he reiterated, that we can advance to higher levels. In addition, in the past few weeks, the main economic indicators began to take for granted what happened last Sunday: "A large turnout, honesty, and tranquillity."

Meanwhile, Mexican Employers Confederation [COPARMEX] President Antonio Sanchez Diaz de Rivera affirmed that certainty has already been regained. This will lead to a drop in interest rates, greater growth, and more investments and sources of jobs.

Political stability will make the further advancement of economic matters possible. Mexico needs to grow and generate more employment; for this tranquillity and peace are fundamental, he noted.

"We are satisfied with society's triumph and the large turnout," more so than by whoever might win these elections, he explained, referring to the preliminary results that put Ernesto Zedillo, presidential candidate for the Institutional Revolutionary Party, in the lead.

Having taken this "qualitative leap" toward democracy, we must begin to work in earnest, since the events that took place during the first half of this year unfortunately curbed some existing plans, but now we expect to "go upward."

Within this context, the CCE and COPARMEX leaders appealed to the different political parties to settle their complaints through legal means. Society rejects violence as a means for resolving disagreements that may arise over the electoral process, which is why one has to act based on the law and must not promote actions that harm the people.

German Gonzalez Quintero, president of the Confederation of National Chambers of Commerce [CONCANACO], said in turn that the democratic process took place already, and "now we have to convince others we also know how to work."

That is important, he noted, so that national and foreign investments can grow and so that we may raise the people's general well-being. Regardless of who the winner may be, the country's organized commerce sector will work with the next government to continue economic progress.

Salvador Lopez Negrete, president of the Mexico City chapter of the National Chamber of Commerce, reaffirmed his sector's commitment to maintaining full supplies and price stability.

He reiterated that the long-term vision will be regained. It is expected that the vitality some industrial sectors have exhibited will lead to greater growth in other activities, since economic recovery has not been evenly distributed across all areas.

In exercising their right to vote, the people "have sent a clear and resounding message: we have the commitment to participate. Respect for the vote is guaranteed," Lopez Negrete stated.

'Unlimited Number' of Visas Offered to Cuban Relatives

PA2608161694 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1427 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] Havana, 26 Aug (NOTIMEX)—Mexican Ambassador to Cuba Carlos Tello Macias said today that

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Mexico will grant an unlimited number of permanent resident visas to Cubans who are interested in reuniting themselves with relatives living in Mexico.

Tello Macias told NOTIMEX that the unprecedented measure benefits relatives of some 4,000 Cubans, who are living permanently in Mexico and who have kept their nationality or have become Mexican citizens.

The Mexican Foreign Relations Secretariat announced yesterday that for the first time, this country will receive Cubans wishing to be reunited with their relatives, who will in turn be in charge of the immigrants' expenses.

Some 200 persons were standing in line this morning in front of the offices of the Mexican Consulate, at the diplomatic neighborhood of Miramar, an hour before the consulate's doors opened, with the purpose of filing a visa application.

"It is a permanent policy; we are going to issue visas for all those who show up and meet the requirements. We are going to be working on that as long as necessary," Tello Macias said.

The diplomat noted that relatives of Cubans with temporary residence in Mexico, such as artists or businessmen, who traveled there for specific reasons, will be excluded.

He added that those wishing to emigrate to Mexico must first meet Cuban legal requirements, such as obtaining a passport and a permit to leave the country.

The Mexican Foreign Ministry said it adopted the measure "with the purpose of contributing to getting the least number of Cubans possible to risk their lives in dangerous departures by sea."

Thousands of Cubans are leaving the country every day in flimsy rafts with the intention of reaching the United States in the largest exodus of Cuban illegal aliens since 125,000 immigrants left the country in 1980.

"We would rather facilitate this safer passage instead of seeing them put out to sea in rafts," Tello Macias said when explaining the new regulation passed by the Mexican authorities.

The U.S. Coast Guard said yesterday that it had picked up in the Florida Straits some 15,800 Cuban emigrants this month.

Cuba opened its maritime borders for emigrants two weeks ago, and the United States lifted the automatic refugee status for the Cuban "rafters," who are now intercepted at sea and are temporarily sent to the naval base in Guantanamo, in the eastern part of the island.

Deputy: Safe Haven for Cubans To Be Within Law

PA2708222294 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2036 GMT 27 Aug 94

[Text] Mexico City, 27 Aug (NOTIMEX)—Deputy Luis Danton Rodriguez has said the safe haven Mexico has offered to Cuban refugees, as part of the humanitarian policy that has distinguished the Mexican Government, will be accomplished within the law and in an orderly manner.

The chairman of the Chamber of Deputies Foreign Relations Committee has referred to a Foreign Relations Secretariat announcement on Mexico's opening to the extraordinary flow of Cubans registered [words indistinct] the door to allow an uncontrolled number of immigrants to enter but, rather, to give access to those who wish to leave their country due to the lack of jobs or educational opportunities or who wish to join their relatives living here, he has said.

Danton has said the relatives of Cubans living in Mexico would be welcomed, as long as they meet the requirements established by the country's migration authorities.

He has said this exodus is not as disorderly as the one along the Florida coast, in the United States. "On the contrary, Mexico will open the way for an orderly, legal, justified migration flow, and this method will not create a problem or an economic burden for the country."

"Each visa will require individual identification and evaluation. We will have to set a timeframe and quota system to control the immigration flow through the consulates. The consulates will double their visa allowances, which now stand at an average of 1,000 per year," he has said.

Cubans wanting to live in Mexico, he added, must prove their identification with a letter from their family here, validate their education level, and prove they have no criminal record.

The Mexican Government, he has said, is aware of the problems throughout the hemisphere. Its decision to extend a bridge of friendship to the distressed Cubans suffering economic and political problems is to provide a safe haven and protection under our laws in an act of humanitarianism and offer them a safe and always friendly home, the legislator has said.

Cuban Envoy: Exodus to U.S. Caused by Economics

PA2808031594 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0116 GMT 28 Aug 94

[Excerpt] Mexico City, 27 Aug (NOTIMEX)—Abelardo Curbelo, Cuban ambassador to Mexico, said today the exodus of Cubans to the United States has economic and not political causes. He said he is glad the Mexican Government will permit the arrival of his fellow countrymen to Mexico.

Curbelo said this decision is an "intelligent one" that defuses the U.S. policy on Cuba.

The diplomat reiterated his government's disposition to initiate talks with the United States to discuss the emigration issue. [passage omitted]

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El Salvador

President: Country Unable To Receive Cubans, Haitians

PA2608214894 San Salvador EL DIARIO DE HOY in Spanish 26 Aug 94 p 2

[Text] "El Salvador cannot receive Cuban or Haitian refugees, because we also have our own problems," President Armando Calderon Sol has said, in reference to the exodus of hundreds of Cubans who are leaving Cuba and whom the Clinton administration intends to send to certain Central American countries.

He has said the situation of El Salvador, the most populous Central American country with the smallest territorial extension and which also had just emerged from a war, has already been explained to the international community.

"This situation is preventing us from receiving Cuban or Haitian refugees," the president has said, but, he said, consultations are being made with the remaining Central American countries so as to adopt an official and common policy regarding this issue.

Washington news dispatches report U.S. authorities are seeking help from several Caribbean and Latin American countries to receive Cuban and Haitian refugees, among which El Salvador is mentioned.

Other possible destinations could be the other five Central American countries as well as the islands of Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, St. Lucia, and Grenada.

Honduras has rescued the first four Cubans near Guanaja Island in the Atlantic, off the Honduran shore, when rafters on rudimentary rafts were about to be shipwrecked.

According to Honduran authorities, the Cubans were admitted temporarily as tourists. Authorities say the government has not received a formal U.S. request to receive Cuban refugees.

Meanwhile, Salvadoran Foreign Minister Oscar Santamaria also has said the country will not receive Cuban boat people who abandon their country in search of political asylum in the United States.

"Conditions are still the same as when safe havens were sought for Haitians. The Salvadoran position will not change," the Salvadoran foreign minister has said, blaming Fidel Castro for the Cubans' problems, which have caused the growing emigrations.

Santamaria does not believe the U.S. policy is encouraging the emigrations. "Conditions are needed that will allow the Cubans the opportunity to freely express themselves," he has said.

Guatemala

Defense Minister: URNG Leaders Lack Control

PA2608225894 Guatemala City Teleonce Television in Spanish 1900 GMT 23 Aug 94

[Statement by Defense Minister Mario Rene Enriquez on 23 August; place not given; from the "Telepress" newscast; broadcast in progress—recorded]

[Text] ... to be respected. They continually show a lack of respect for this. I sincerely believe that the URNG [Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity] leadership has lost control over its regular military units operating in some places. I say this because of the treacherous attack that took place at 0405. They placed two attack posts far from the Army detachment to isolate that unit, and two other attack posts closer.

Here we have an illustration showing how many kilometers apart the rebel attack posts were. You can take pictures of this so you can report on it with the certainty that what we are reporting here is the whole truth. We do not like to manipulate the news. When we are making an assumption about something, I always tell you we are just making an assumption. In this case I am telling you the truth. The wounded civilians, the civilian survivors who had nothing to do with the confrontation, can verify this. It looks like the URNG has lost control of its people, and they are engaging in desperate terrorist attacks in Guatemala.

As I told you, they placed attack posts at kilometer marker 116, another on kilometer marker 109, and another two closer to the detachment. They were not detected early because there was no security 400 meters from the detachment. It had been some time since there had been harassment in the area, and soldiers, unfortunately, often grow overconfident. We are always telling soldiers to remain alert because there could be rebels treacherously lying in wait anywhere in the Republic.

These graphic illustrations show the exact site where the attacks took place. There was a heavy attack on the military detachment. Rifles, grenade launchers, and hand grenades were used. The detachment was practically razed. There was one officer and 32 soldiers there. Fortunately, no more people died. [as heard] The officer, wounded, tried to repel the treacherous attack by firing at the area where the rebels were. He fired carefully to keep from wounding civilians of Chocol.

Regarding the bus, the Esmeraldas Transport bus drove past a rebel checkpoint without stopping, and the rebels fired on it indiscriminately, killing one lady and wounding 10 civilians, three of whom were taken to Chimaltenango, and the other seven to the Roosevelt and San Juan de Dios hospitals. We have a videocassette recording of interviews with some of these civilians. You reporters will have an opportunity to see this video.

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I told you at the beginning that it is surprising that some people have the cynicism to demand that the government respect human rights. The people of Guatemala and of the world and the URNG know that this government has effectively opened the doors to peace. The government is not being naive; it really wants peace. Unfortunately, it looks like the rebels are responding in an adverse way. They are working again in the political arena, on public opinion, on the ideological aspects. They are acting in an absurd way at a time when we are supposedly on the threshold of signing a peace agreement.

It is they who are violating human rights. You will recall the kidnapping of a person I will not name so as not to further upset a family I respect. This kidnapping shows lack of respect for human rights. There is legislation in Congress to severely punish people who violate human rights.

Vice President Cited on URNG, Peace Talks

PA2708005494 Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 23 Aug 94 p 3

[Text] Commenting on an attack on the Chupol Military Garrison that took place after midnight on 22 August, Vice President Arturo Herbruger said the terrorism the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity [URNG] is still practicing can compel the government to vary the pacifist position it has held so far.

"The URNG has stopped being a revolutionary group and instead has turned into a terrorist faction that is trying to destabilize the country through terror by perpetrating actions such as attacking civilians riding an intercity buses on the Inter-American Highway yesterday," he said.

"This URNG course of action, which is wrong, is risky, because it could spur the government to reduce its tolerance after noticing the URNG's lack of political willingness to strive for a firm and lasting agreement and to stop armed confrontation," he warned.

He said that negotiations and dialogue, which have been chosen to stop the internal armed confrontation, are the correct course of action but that the war will have to go on if the URNG insists on destabilizing actions such as simultaneously attacking the Army and the civilian population.

"The government still wants peace, but if the guerrillas defeat this inclination, it would be difficult to strike an agreement, even during this year. This course of action would be regrettable, because President Ramiro de Leon Carpio has even expressed his intention of going to the United Nations to save the negotiations," he added.

Alleged rebels attacked an intercity bus, one pickup truck with civilians, and the Chupol Military Garrison yesterday, killing two military men and one civilian and wounding 21 people. Three rebels were killed in the shooting, it was also reported.

Honduras

Foreign Minister on Willingness To Accept Cubans

PA2608205694 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1854 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 26 Aug (NOTIMEX)—Ernesto Paz Aguilar, the Honduran foreign affairs minister, today said his country could take in Cuban refugees, despite the fact that Honduras has had no contact with the U.S. Government on this issue.

During a news conference, the official explained: "We could take in Cuban refugees for humanitarian reasons. As a matter of fact, there is a positive opinion on this, considering we had already decided to welcome Haitian refugees."

Following a turn in U.S. immigration policy, which now prevents illegal Cuban immigrants from entering the United States, Washington is seeking to send the refugees to third countries in the wake of the growing exodus of the past two weeks.

The administration of Honduran President Carlos Roberto Reina was the only Central American that agreed to receive Cuban refugees, the minister indicated. He recalled that the other nations in the region turned down this possibility, arguing various internal problems such as the civil war in Guatemala, displaced citizens in Nicaragua and El Salvador, and the lack of physical space in Belize.

Paz Aguilar said Honduras cannot forget that there are thousands of Cubans risking their lives on the waters of the Atlantic Ocean in an attempt to flee the Caribbean island—people to whom we cannot deny our help.

He also recalled that four Cubans arrived on a raft on the coast of the Atlantic department of Islas de Bahia last week, and he added that the government helped them to remain in the country.

The four Cuban refugees were picked up by a Honduran fishing boat just as their raft was about to capsize in deep waters. They had left Cuba and set out for Miami, Florida, on the southeastern coast of the United States.

Paz Aguilar indicated that any request from the United States for Honduras to take in Cuban refugees would have to be discussed by the Honduran Congress. He did not discard the possibility that the government would accept such a request for "humanitarian reasons."

He also said the Honduran Government supports the idea of talks between the United States and Cuba to find a end to the economic blockade, which the United States imposed on Cuban leader Fidel Castro more than 30 years ago.

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"It is necessary for the United States and Cuba to resolve their problems, and for the island's government to become more flexible about finding a political solution to the current crisis," Paz Aguilar said. He said he believes the OAS is the appropriate organization within which to discuss the Cuban problem.

Nicaragua

Foreign Minister Leal on Mexican Elections

PA2708014394 Managua Sistema Nacional de Television Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 24 Aug 94

["Press Release" issued by the Foreign Ministry in Managua on 23 August; from the "National Newscast"—read by announcer]

[Text] In statements to the foreign press on the Mexican elections, Foreign Minister Ernesto Leal said any free and democratic election in any Latin American country has a great deal of significance for Nicaragua. He added the Mexican elections are highly regarded due to the degree of participation and civic behavior the Mexican people had displayed.

Commenting on the electoral process, Foreign Minister Leal said Nicaragua received the electoral process with great satisfaction, particularly because it affirms democracy in Mexico and consolidates the Mexican democratic process. He congratulated the Mexican people and wished the best of luck to the president-elect.

Managua

[Dated] 23 August 1994

Gurdian Discusses Presidential Aspirations

94CA0150B Managua LA TRIBUNA in Spanish 24 Jul 94 p 3A

[Interview with COSEP President Ramiro Gurdian by Claudia Chamorro; place, date not given; first four paragraphs are LA TRIBUNA introduction]

[Text] The president of COSEP [Higher Council of Private Enterprise], Ramiro Gurdian, said that a Gurdian-Aleman presidential slate, or vice versa, would sweep the other parties in the 1996 elections, and he revealed that this possibility has already begun to be discussed in political circles.

In a LA TRIBUNA interview, Gurdian said he felt sure that he could be a good president, provided that the National Conservative Party selected him as its presidential candidate.

He revealed that two months ago the secretary general of the Sandinist Front, Daniel Ortega, suggested to him that he [Gurdian] be his party's presidential candidate and that he [Ortega] would be the vice presidential candidate. Naturally, Gurdian categorically rejected that offer.

"I told him I would be happy to accept that offer, provided that we made the same arrangement that Antonio Lacayo had with Virgilio Godoy," said Gurdian.

The interview follows.

[Chamorro] Mr. Gurdian, why do you want to be president?

[Gurdian] All my life I have done things for the good of Nicaragua. As a producer and a businessman, as president of UPANIC and COSEP, I have always engaged in civic activity to help my country. Because of my prominent position, many people have told me I should run for the presidency, and I am prepared to do so.

[Chamorro] Do you consider yourself capable of being president of the republic?

[Gurdian] I consider myself capable of governing, and I am also capable of recognizing what I do not know and of calling upon someone who does. I consult a great deal. I know it will be a difficult job. Will I become president or not? I think I have a good chance.

[Chamorro] Do you believe you will be the presidential candidate of the Conservative Party, for there are other conservative candidates like Enrique Bolanos and Adolfo Calero?

[Gurdian] Enrique Bolanos is not a member of the Conservative Party, and as far as I know, Adolfo Calero has expressed no presidential aspirations.

So far, I am the only member of the Conservative Party who has said he wants to be president of the republic.

[Chamorro] If you are not chosen as your party's candidate for the 96 elections, would you accept your party's decision?

[Gurdian] I am a conservative. I have to accept my party's decision and I will help with whatever my party decides, for I am convinced it would be very good for Nicaragua to have conservatives in office.

[Chamorro] People have said that the Sandinist Front suggested that you be its candidate for 1996. Have you thought of running as another party's candidate?

[Gurdian] Two months ago Comandante Daniel Ortega, in the presence of other members of the Sandinist Front's National Directorate, said to me—which I took as a joke—that I should run for president and he (Ortega) would be the vice presidential candidate. I told him that I would glady accept that proposal, provided that we could make the same arrangement that Antonio Lacayo had with Virgilio Godoy.

[Chamorro] Let me repeat my question: would you run as a presidential candidate from another political party if the conservatives did not select you?

[Gurdian] No, I would not.

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[Chamorro] Under no condition would you agree to be the Sandinist Front's candidate?

[Gurdian] Under no condition. The Sandinist Front has shown that it governed arbitrarily, and it did a great deal of damage to Nicaragua. I do not believe the Sandinists are going to try to regain political power in 1996. I think the FSLN should take concrete steps to correct its actions and should try to clear up the problem of the "pinata" [property appropriation by Sandinists] which greatly discredited the Sandinist Party. If it does not correct that immoral act of abuse and robbery involved in selling a lot of property to themselves, it will be hard for them to have the legitimacy to try to run the Nicaraguan government.

[Chamorro] Do you believe you are a candidate who represents the different sectors of society, particularly the thousands of poor families and unemployed citizens?

[Gurdian] Yes. The Nicaraguan people can clearly identify those of us who want to make Nicaragua work and move forward. Another thing: I was never a Somozist or a Sandinist, and I am not in this government. What I want for Nicaragua has not been tried yet.

[Chamorro] What do you want for Nicaragua?

[Gurdian] What I want for Nicaragua, as a friend said, is for the people to have health care and to be able to work, and many things are tied up with jobs. If the citizens have jobs, they are able to send their children to school, buy a house, and improve their standard of living.

[Chamorro] What would you project in your election campaign?

[Gurdian] I believe I can project a message that we need to create jobs, productive jobs. I do have some knowledge of how to do that. By profession I am an economist, I have studied law and business administration, I have raised livestock, I have grown sorghum, sesame, sugarcane, cotton, and bananas. My life has been involved with agriculture. I know about agricultural problems, and Nicaragua is agriculture. I believe I know how to lift up the nation and I have the determination to do so.

[Chamorro] The liberals said that after they are united, they might move to an alliance with the conservatives. Would you favor a liberal-conservative alliance?

[Gurdian] I believe it is still too early to talk of an alliance between liberals and conservatives. I think the Conservative Party should demonstrate that it is capable of organizing and running alone. Then later we can talk about alliances, though I do not reject that possibility.

[Chamorro] If you run alone, are you not afraid that the liberals will be ahead of you, for many people think the liberals have a greater political presence than the other UNO [National Opposition Union] parties?

[Gurdian] It is not the Liberal Party that has a greater presence, it is Arnoldo Aleman who has a greater presence. Tomorrow Aleman could say he is a conservative and he would still have the same presence. It is Arnoldo's positions and actions as mayor that make people admire him.

[Chamorro] If you were the conservative candidate, would you agree to run on the same ticket with Arnoldo Aleman?

[Gurdian] Yes, that is possible, there has been talk of that possibility. Let me remind you that we ran on the same slate when I was elected president of UPANIC, and he was the vice president.

[Chamorro] Would you have any problem with running as Arnoldo's vice president, if that situation arose?

[Gurdian] If that is necessary, so be it; Nicaragua is what is important. And I am sure it would not bother Dr. Aleman either if he were to run as Ramiro Gurdian's vice presidential candidate.

[Chamorro] This possible alliance is of great concern to many political groups with presidential aspirations. Sandinist leader Bayardo Arce has already said that if a liberal-conservative government were to win, the FSLN would head back to the mountains, suggesting that that party would not respect the election results. What do you think about that?

[Gurdian] I sincerely believe that a Gurdian-Aleman or an Aleman-Gurdian ticket would sweep the elections, and this is of great concern to Bayardo Arce, so much so that he reacts violently. I personally do not believe the Sandinists would go back to hide out in the mountains.

[Chamorro] What do you think of the presidential ambitions of Minister Antonio Lacayo?

[Gurdian] I think Antonio Lacayo should wait for another term. He should not be so insistent that it has to be this time. He gives the impression that he is running around desperately trying to become a candidate. He still has the office President Chamorro gave him, and he should be concerned about doing a good job there. He is desperately trying to win five more years, while he still has two and a half years left.

[Chamorro] Is Ramiro Gurdian not afraid that with the revelation that he wants to be president, he may be placing his life in even greater danger?

[Gurdian] That is one more risk.

Unemployment Statistics Reported

94CA0150C Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 23 Jul 94 pp 1, 5

[Article by Carlos Garcia Castillo]

[Text] Nicaragua has the highest unemployment rate in Central America, and one of the highest in Latin

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America: approximately 43 percent split between underemployment and actual unemployment, indicates a recent Ministry of Labor study of the urban job situation.

The most alarming aspect of the study—based on surveys done in March and July 1993 in households in various cities of Nicaragua—is that the "informal sector," which generally serves as a "cushion or labor refuge," is reaching its limit to absorb the thousands of Nicaraguans left unemployed as a result of the government's economic measures and the contraction of the national economy.

"One striking and particularly disturbing aspect is the high rate of unemployment in the informal sector," says the report. According to this report, unemployment in this sector is 42.2 percent, split between underemployment and true unemployment.

"... When an informal unemployment rate as high as Nicaragua's is seen, the explanation can only be that this sector no longer has the capacity to continue to absorb people and that, instead, it has had to expel workers," noted the study.

In practical terms, this means there is no room left for the unemployed who try to survive by turning to self-employment or by opening small businesses.

Everything is getting saturated, from selling ice cream to becoming a small businessman with a small store, cafe, snack bar, etc.

Frightening Statistics

According to the study, on the average, the total population of the eight cities studied came to 1,313,839. Of this number, 957,385 are of working age, and of this total, 50.1 percent are unemployed. The remainder—477,710, make up the PEA [Economically Active Population].

This study shows that 77.4 percent of the urban PEA—369,953 people—are employed, and 22.6 percent, 107,757 people of both sexes, are unemployed. Of the total number of people who are employed, 274,318 are adequately employed, and 95,636 are underemployed. The latter, added to the 107,757 unemployed (true unemployment) give an average level of 43 percent, the highest rate in Central America.

Urban Unemployment by Market Segment and Area of Activity

Area	National	Formal	Informal
Agriculture and livestock(1)	3,115	1,964	1,151
Industry	17,114	12,829	4,285
Electricity, Gas, and Water	1,291	1,291	0
Commerce	12,181	6,995	5,187
Transportation	5,137	3,580	1,557
Banking and Insurance	2,353	2,137	216
Services	37,232	18,897	18,335
Construction	8,636	4,491	4,145
Others	645	401	243
New	20,053	0	0
Total	107,757	52,585	35,119

(1) Includes forestry and fishing. Source: MITRAB [Ministry of Labor] Household Surveys, 1993

The tertiary sector is the biggest generator of jobs. Transportation, commerce, and services generate 75 percent of the total number of jobs. Industrial activity employs only 16 percent.

"The economy's informal sector has no capacity left, as there are no more purchasers who can be absorbed by this sector. This is the result of the critical situation of unemployment and low purchasing power faced by the majority of the population," said Dr. Rosa Maria Renzi of FIDEG [International Global Economic Challenge Foundation].

The specialists feel that the *social impact* of the informal sector's saturation will be brutal for Nicaraguan society.

Dr. Renzi believes that living conditions will worsen, and this will affect the population psychologically and emotionally, which could degenerate into violence and greater social breakdown, as there is an automatic link between the dynamism of the labor market and living conditions.

Panama

Foreign Minister-Designate on Cuban Rafters

PA2808195794 Panama City TVN Television Network in Spanish 1630 GMT 28 Aug 94

[Interview with Foreign Minister-designate Gabriel Lewis Galindo by program host Luz Maria Noli at the TVN Television Studios in Panama City on 26 August; from the "Dialogue" program—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Noli] As of 1 September, we will have a new foreign policy. The big question here is this: Are there any negotiations under way between the U.S. Government and the incoming Panamanian Government?

[Lewis Galindo] In terms of the Cuban refugees, President-elect Perez Balladares has assumed the same position he did in the case of the Haitians. After discussing the issue with our team of lawyers—the same ones I worked with on the Torrijos-Carter treaties—we made a firm decision to place these humanitarian actions in a

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special category, because they fall within the framework of agreements signed with the United States.

Before we make any decisions on 1 September, however, we will first consider the interests of the Panamanian people, because we are convinced that charity begins at home. If accepting Cuban rafters does not harm the Panamanian people, we have decided to help them. We have decided this for humanitarian reasons. The incoming government has not made this decision on its own; it is shared by all Panamanians. We know we represent the will of the Panamanian people.

This operation will not cost Panama a penny. These rafters will be confined within U.S. military areas. The United States will foot all bills for their food, medical attention, education, and other expenses, as well as for their return or transfer, wherever that may be following a six-month period. I believe that, through this action, Panamanians are showing the international community our humanitarian sense and contributing our share within the context of the extremely delicate U.S.-Cuban situation.

[Noli] That answer is perfect for a foreign minister. As you may recall, I asked you whether there were any negotiations, and you have hedged the issue magnificently. Are there negotiations or not?

[Lewis Galindo] Yes. There are informal talks; let us call them that. President Clinton sent a personal emissary yesterday, that is Thursday [25 August], to talk to us. Following President Perez Balladares' instructions, I met with him yesterday and we discussed the details on how to conduct this operation if there is need for it.

You must remember that our government does not take office until 1 September, and many things could happen from now until 1 September. For example, the crisis could be resolved. If the crisis is not resolved and the current situation continues, we are determined to help the Cubans and to lend the United States a hand in this very delicate situation, because it is our ally. Let us be honest about this: The time for confrontations has ended.

[Noli] Do you find it strange that in the case of the Cubans, the people have not reacted as violently as with the Haitians?

[Lewis Galindo] I believe that initially the people reacted violently in the case of the Haitians because of the bad presentation made by the government, which did not handle the problem the way it should have. I believe bringing the United Nations into the picture complicated the situation, mainly because of existing agreements on refugees—agreements that would have given the Haitians rights, including the right to work, transit, obtain nationality after remaining in the country for more than five years, and certain rights the United Nations grants to refugees when it is taking care of them. In that case, the refugees would be the ones to decide whether the situation in their country was safe for them to return. We could not even establish a specific deadline.

Meanwhile, the case of the Cubans, which we are handling according to the Canal Treaties, is a bilateral matter between the United States and Panama. Luz, the commitment is for six months. If the situation in Cuba is not resolved by then, the United States has promised to find another solution. The Cubans will remain here during that time; after that, the United States will have to transfer them to another place.

[Noli] I recall that in the case of the Haitians, one of the arguments used to oppose their arrival here was that the United States frequently changes its policy. Here, I am referring to the Haitians, but this could also happen when dealing with the Cubans. What will happen if U.S. policy toward Cuba changes in the next six months?

In the case of the Haitians it seems that the United States has contemplated the possibility of an invasion, which is not the case with Cuba. What guarantees do we have that the Cubans will not be here initially for six months, then for 10 or 12 months, and so on?

[Lewis Galindo] I do not think the United States will confine the Cubans in a certain area for a period longer than that. We have agreed that if the situation in Cuba is not resolved by that time, the United States will find some way to transfer them to another place. I have no reason to believe that the United States will not comply with this agreement. I see no reason to believe that.

[Noli] As you know, the Panamanian Constitution recognizes the rights of anyone who is born here.

[Lewis Galindo] That is correct.

[Noli] I understand that the Cubans will not be very busy while they are here. They will be confined in a military area.

[Lewis Galindo] Right.

[Noli] What will happen with Cuban babies born here?

[Lewis Galindo] If they are born here, they will be Panamanians. This has been one of the subjects we discussed with President Clinton's special envoy yesterday, and we have reached an agreement in principle. The United States commits itself to transfer pregnant women to Cuban territory, specifically to Guantanamo, so that the babies can be born in Cuban territory. That was part of the agreement. I believe it is a practical solution within the circumstances. As soon as women show signs of pregnancy, they will be...

[Noli, interrupting] In other words, women who are three months pregnant will not even be sent here.

[Lewis Galindo] Exactly. That is what they have said. They will take the necessary measures and tests, and pregnant women will be transferred to Guantanamo with their families.

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[Noli] You may recall that during the days of the Mariel crisis there was a revolt in one of the refugee camps. Even though we hope the same thing will never occur again, what would happen if it did occur here?

[Lewis Galindo] Luz, I would assume that based on the experience the United States had with the Mariel people it will take the necessary precautions to prevent a similar situation. Let us not try to find problems where there are none. I believe that Panamanians are willing to help Cubans in this difficult situation they are confronting.

[Noli] Do you believe that accepting Cubans at U.S. bases in Panama will affect our relations with Cuba?

[Lewis Galindo] No. We have been very respectful and have always said that bilateral matters concerning relations between the United States and Cuba should be handled between those two countries. We have offered our humanitarian assistance to the Cubans based on a very old Panamanian tradition of helping our brothers. [passage omitted]

ARI Director To Oversee Reversion of U.S. Areas

PA2708192594 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 27 Aug 94 p 1A

[Report by Nubia Aparicio]

[Text] The Board of Directors of the Intereoceanic Region Authority (ARI) yesterday appointed Comptroller General Jose de los Santos Chen Barria as the new ARI administrator.

According to well-informed sources, seven of the nine members of the ARI Board of Directors voted in favor of Chen Barria, while two voted against him. This was learned last night during a dinner hosted by cabiñet members in honor of President Guillermo Endara at the Executive Golf Club restaurant.

"May I present the new ARI director," Endara said while congratulating Chen Barria.

The new ARI administrator will be in charge of maintenance, conservation, and the use of reverted property and areas, as well as those areas yet to be reverted to Panama by the United States in accordance with the provisions of the Torrijos-Carter treaties.

Chen Barria, a Christian Democratic Party activist, took over as deputy comptroller general when the Legislative Assembly appointed Ruben Dario Carles as comptroller general. When Carles resigned from the position to run for president of the Republic, Chen Barria took over as comptroller general.

The ARI Board of Directors appointed Juan Blau as its first administrator on 31 August 1993, but he resigned a few months later because of personal reasons he never fully explained.

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Argentina

Menem: Castro To Blame for 'Raft People' Crisis

PY2708025594 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 2317 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] Santiago, 26 Aug (AFP-NA)—Argentine President Carlos Menem said in Santiago on 26 August that Cuban President Fidel Castro is mainly to blame for the crisis affecting his country due to the emigration of "raft people" toward the United States.

"I told this to my friend, Commander Fidel Castro, to his face," Menem said, recalling his meeting with the Cuban ruler during the last summit in Cartagena de Indias, Colombia.

The Argentine president compared the situation in Cuba with the totalitarian regimes that ruled Argentina, Paraguay, Chile, and other Latin American nations before the reestablishment of democracy in the 1980's.

Menem wondered: "Why not do the same, and finally let the Cuban people elect their authorities freely?" "As far as I am concerned, Comandante Castro is as much a dictator as any of the other dictators who had to leave to allow the establishment of democracy and freedom among their peoples," Menem said.

Menem held a news conference during the second and last day of his visit to Chile. The Argentine president said that the "raft people" are abandoning Cuba "because they can no longer tolerate an oppressive regime, because there is hunger, marginalization, and misery."

"Therefore the responsibility of the entire affair lays, regrettably, on the shoulders of the Cuban head of state. Things will change substantially if he starts to democratize his country," Menem concluded.

Government Protests to UN About UK Decision on Falklands

PY2608191194 Buenos Aires Radio Nacional Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] Argentina has addressed the United Nations protesting the British decision to annex a 1,400 square km fishing area to its exclusion zone that surrounds the Malvinas Islands.

In a letter addressed to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, the Argentine Foreign Ministry has explained that the British decision does not comply with the resolutions of the UN General Assembly.

Elections Set for 14 May; Talks 'Still Open'

PY2708010694 Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 19 Aug 94 p 2

[Text] The government announced last night that the next president will be elected on Sunday, 14 May 1995, along with deputies and the senator for the Federal Capital.

The elections for governors, local legislatures, and the mayor of Buenos Aires will be held on another date, possibly in October of the same year.

The double election schedule was announced one day after the Radicals [Radical Civic Union, UCR] refused to discuss a series of last-minute proposals submitted by the government at the Constituent Assembly, which included a clause extending President Carlos Menem's presidential term in order to set a single day for the elections.

Constituent delegates shelved the proposal, but the announcement of the double schedule could still be set aside if UCR delegates headed by former President Raul Alfonsin take a step backwards and accept an extension of President Menem's term until 12 October 1995. This is, a margin for negotiations is still open.

The double schedule will benefit some political groups, but other parties might be hurt by it, and particularly the UCR, which needs to push back the date of the elections to try to win back its normal constituency and improve its electoral possibilities.

Yesterday Interior Minister Carlos Ruckauf left the door open for negotiations with the UCR. He said that the government's decision is tied to the UCR's refusal to extend Menem's term by three more months.

On 17 August, Presidential Secretary General Eduardo Bauza made a last effort, but could not convince the Radicals, who on the occasion were accompanied by representatives of the Grand Front, the Socialist Party, and provincial parties.

At one point former President Alfonsin threatened to withdraw his convention delegates from the assembly and provoke a big scandal if ruling party representatives insisted on this and other two issues: condemning abortion and a clause permitting the reelection of all governors.

Accepting Under Protest

Yesterday morning the government reacted to the refusal of the UCR delegates to consider its proposals. Minister Ruckauf told Radio Continental that the current situation would force the government to set the elections for 7 May.

But the reaction lacked some precision, because that night the government corrected the first announcement and set the day of the elections for 14 May.

The government believes that the 14th is a lucky day: President Menem did really well on another 14 May, some five years ago, when he won the elections. He was sworn in on 8 July, five months before the date set in the Constitution.

According to the new Constitution approved in Santa Fe, presidential elections must be carried out at least 60 days before the president is installed, because it is

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necessary to provide for a possible runoff or "ballottage" between the two most supported candidates if neither wins the first time around.

Official Objectives

The government's offensive to extend Menem's mandate and unify the date of the elections in mid-August had two key objectives for Menem's strategists:

—To restore the government's image, which according to the latest surveys was tarnished by the attack on the AMIA [Argentine-Israeli Mutual Association] and the release of the current unemployment figures, and shows a drop in government's popularity.

—To give more time to the UCR to also improve its image, as a way to stop the growth of the Grand Front, which is also outlined by the survey.

In the Constituent Assembly, however, this purpose mixed with the wishes of a group of Justicialist governors who want to be reelected, and with an anti-abortion campaign sponsored by President Menem himself.

All these last-minute government-sponsored proposals provoked the irate reaction of UCR delegates and former President Alfonsin. In the end the Assembly decided to shelve these proposals—although the anti-abortion clause reappeared in another way—and the issue of the duration of the presidential term was solved with a transitory clause establishing that the term of the next president will be four years and five months. This means that the president elected next year will be in power for a longer period.

Bolivia

Cuba's Robaina Meets Aranibar, Remarks to Media

PY2608184794 La Paz Television Nacional Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina is in Bolivia. He reiterated that the Cuban crisis has its origin in U.S. imperialism.

[Begin recording] [Reporter Mario Espinoza] The Bolivian and Cuban foreign ministers, Antonio Aranibar and Roberto Robaina respectively, held several meetings today in the Foreign Ministry to reach several agreements in the cultural, educational, and health fields. Roberto Robaina arrived in Bolivia yesterday. The meetings with Foreign Minister Aranibar and with officials of other ministries were the most important events on Robaina's agenda this morning. Robaina is now having a private lunch with President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada. This afternoon, Robaina and Aranibar will sign a cooperation agreement. This morning Robaina placed a wreath at the monument of Pedro Domingo Murillo. Although Robaina will hold a news conference this afternoon, he talked to the media on what is happening in his country. He was very brief with reporters.

[Robaina, in progress] ...but I am absolutely convinced that there are more options, more possibilities than ever before, and above all, we are willing more than ever to defend our country from impositions. We are not willing to negotiate our independence, dignity, and sovereignty.

[Unidentified reporter] But the people are leaving.

[Robaina] Like many people from other countries who leave even when they are not encouraged. In my country, people leave not only because of the economic problems, but because for many years they were aggressively encouraged to leave the country illegally. If that aggressive policy against Cuba of encouraging people to leave illegally were applied against other countries, one would have to see how the people would react [words indistinct].

[Reporter] How does your government view the fact that the United States rejects those Cubans who want to enter that country?

[Robaina] I believe this is part of an incoherent policy the United States has been implementing for many years. We used to be the bad guys when we prevented the people from leaving, but now Cuba announced it would not prevent their illegal departure, now Cuba does not prevent them from leaving, and the United States rejects them. This is part of the incoherent U.S. policy.

[Reporter] How did you find the reception here in Bolivia, especially with regard to your problems?

[Robaina] I believe, above all, that I found a position of great understanding and respect, not only in Bolivia, but in all the Latin American countries I visited. I had the privilege to find that their legislatures and media not only had the reports disseminated by the large U.S. media, but also the reports on the Cuban point of view. [end recording]

Denies Seeking Support Against Embargo

PY2708034894 La Paz Television Nacional Network in Spanish 0100 GMT 27 Aug 94

[Text] Bolivian Foreign Minister Antonio Aranibar and Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina signed six agreements today. One of the agreements deals with cooperation and technical assistance at the Foreign Ministry level; the other deals with the diplomatic academies; there is another on technical cooperation in the sports field; a fourth agreement on educational equivalency; an agreement between the Bolivian Tourism Secretariat and the Cuban Tourism Ministry; and finally, a Cuban-Bolivian air transportation agreement.

Foreign Minister Antonio Aranibar commented on these agreements in the following terms:

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[Begin Aranibar recording] In today's day and age we are waging a constant battle against poverty and those evils that affect our economies and undermine their stability.

In this regard all our governments and social sectors must unite their efforts to overcome... [end recording]

Everything was according to protocol. None of the problems currently affecting the Cuban people, particularly the Cuban Government, were mentioned.

In his speech, Foreign Minister Robaina discussed the issue very superficially.

[Begin Robaina recording] I believe I have arrived in Bolivia at a very special time, in which many people want to learn about the real situation affecting Cuba, about the project we have undertaken and how it is progressing. I believe that along this path of understanding it is not only useful what we say in Bolivia, but extremely useful what... [end recording]

It was only later, during a news conference, that Roberto Robaina referred extensively to the Cuban problem.

[Begin Robaina recording] This is not strictly an emigration issue. It does not have solely to do with emigration. We believe that a definitive solution will not depend solely on the adoption of technical and emigration measures, for the simple reason that, among other things, the emigration agreement in force has repeatedly not been fulfilled since 1984. Nevertheless, despite the nonfulfillment of this agreement, and in view of the flexibility we need to show during situations of this nature, as has been stated by our president, Cuba would not refuse to hold negotiations if there is interest in holding them on strictly emigration issues. We are willing to listen and to negotiate in this regard. [end recording]

Foreign Minister Robaina, who had a busy schedule today, stated that his visit to Bolivia and other Latin American countries has strictly diplomatic objectives.

[Begin Robaina recording] This tour does not seek to obtain the support of Latin American countries for a Cuban resolution against the blockade. We are not seeking the Latin American vote against the blockade, because Cuba already obtained the Latin American vote against the blockade, during the last UN session.

I believe—and I planned this some time ago, regardless of the situation the country is currently experiencing—that it is much more important for us to achieve other stages. By this I mean that it does not suffice to dare to cast a vote, because I believe that the blockade will not be lifted solely with a UN vote. Those who dared to vote should also dare to invest; and to dare to invest we must give ample explanation of the possibilities Cuba offers to foreign capital investment today. To do this Cuba must also explain to countries of the Americas that Cuba is not only facing needs but also can offer things. [end recording]

Foreign Minister Robaina is scheduled to depart Bolivia in a couple of hours. The question is whether the six agreements signed today by the two foreign ministers is tantamount to a lifting of the blockade established many years ago.

[Madrid EFE in Spanish at 0108 GMT on 27 August carries a 200-word report on Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina's activities in Bolivia which notes: "Robaina will travel tomorrow to the central city of Cochabamba, where he will meet with businessmen. On 28 August, after making a technical stop in the eastern city of Santa Cruz, Robaina will continue his tour and travel to Brazil."]

Justice Minister Discusses Need for Reform

94SM0444A La Paz PRESENCIA in Spanish 22 Jul 94 p 2

[Interview with Justice Minister Rene Blattman by unidentified PRESENCIA correspondent in "Friday Dialogue"; place and date not given]

[Text] There is a popular saying that warns, "Beware of Bolivian justice," and the facts bear it out. But everything has its limits, and the demand for timely, reliable, and accessible justice has prompted the current government to establish the Justice Ministry. At the head of the new ministry is Attorney Rene Blattman, who was interviewed for this issue of "Friday Dialogue."

A fast-talking, sometimes passionate man, Blattman does not hide his two central objectives: to eliminate prison terms for failure to pay civil restitution and to regulate preventive detention. In his opinion, these are two of the greatest problems in the system.

As is always the case, much of the interview ended up on the cutting-room floor, especially the examples the dignitary gave in support of his arguments.

[PRESENCIA] One of the serious problems we face right now, something you have pointed out repeatedly, is the slow pace of justice. Why is that, and what can be done about it?

[Blattman] There are several approaches to the slow pace of justice and to the solutions that might be adopted, because this problem is not unique to Bolivia. It appears throughout Latin America, and that is why a continent-wide philosophy of procedural reform has been developed.

Now there is a movement afoot in several countries putting forth the idea that slow justice is injustice. There are old rules of procedure that we have incorporated into our way of life and that we have accepted. The way to combat them is, first, to reform the codes of procedure (civil and criminal), and second, to rigorously enforce the statutory deadlines.

We have some codes of procedure that are modern. Our judicial structure, compared to that of other countries, is

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relatively simple and should not give rise to such a weighty bureaucracy. That is why we should reform specific elements of the codes; they are not that obsolete, but there are things that should be changed. For example, in terms of criminal law, proceedings should become more oral, more immediate; we must make the transition from an inquisitorial system to an accusatory system, which is the trend throughout Latin America.

[PRESENCIA] What is the difference?

[Blattman] In an accusatory system, the role of the judge is investigative. The facts are not all confined to documents and are not kept half secret, but are aired in the open. The judge cannot easily make decisions that violate the regulations, because the attorneys will confront him in public proceedings. The oral nature of the proceedings and the accusatory system always go hand in hand; the system is more transparent.

What happens here? The summary proceeding duplicates the role of the Public Ministry, and preventive detention is practiced, lasting an indeterminate period of time.

How can this be counteracted? It can be done through regulations, computerization, training of judges, and the creation of mechanisms that will reduce the burden on judges (mediation, conciliation, and arbitration).

Another fundamental aspect is the introduction of justices of the peace in our judiciary. They are a feature we used to have in the past. They were prominent members of the community who knew everyone in town and knew who was a scoundrel and who was honest. They had a sense of fairness, justice, and balance—after all, justice is a balancing of interests in which equity prevails—and they resolved very simple matters, not through the police or the courts, but by using common sense. We have abandoned that system.

I think that the justice of the peace is an element that is lacking in our system of popular participation in the distribution of money, authority, and power. We are trying to bring that element back to this country.

[PRESENCIA] People have the impression that the Justice Ministry should be above partisan politics. How can you reconcile that need with your daily political activities as minister?

[Blattman] I am an independent person; I do not belong to any political party, and any political activity I engage in is derived from being a member of the cabinet and dealing with policies on justice and reorganization. These are not sectarian policies, but matters related to the country, which needs judicial restructuring, laws that will bring us to the dawn of the year 2000. They do not need a partisan entity that implements provisions that go against the Constitution.

We view ourselves as a Ministry of Justice and Law, and we want to provide orientation for reforms in the civil, penal, and commercial spheres, to enforce human rights, and to devise ways of fighting corruption, while maintaining our nonpartisan status.

[PRESENCIA] People were referring to the avoidance of involvement in daily problems, such as those in Potosi, Trinidad, or the matter of the teachers, in which you got involved....

[Blattman] In the three specific cases in which the ministry intervened, the justification was the violation of human rights. It was not a political presence, but an institutional one, and the objective was to enforce the law.

[PRESENCIA] Could the Justice Ministry become the legal conscience of the government?

[Blattman] On several occasions, the president has stated that he believes it is important to have an independent person in this position, and he has conveyed two messages that we have adopted as the ministry's philosophy: one, that a country without justice is like a land without water; and the other, that he could not remember a single case of a poor person winning a trial, and that the jails are full of poor people.

With this philosophy in mind, we have set to work and we are trying to maintain our independence—we are in fact maintaining it—in the sense that we think what we are doing is the right thing, a scientific thing, not demagoguery.

[PRESENCIA] In general terms, what goals have you set for yourself?

[Blattman] To set up legislative control mechanisms. For example, we have a phrase that always appears in decrees: "Any provisions that run counter to this decree are hereby repealed," and that is where the battle begins. An attorney will say: This provision has been repealed, or it has not been repealed. So we need a center that will determine which provisions have been repealed, for legal consistency. We want to set up a computer system so that a single entity can certify that a law is valid or invalid. That does not exist in practice now.

Furthermore, there are provisions in different sectors that are contradictory, especially now that, for example, in the economic sphere there will be a petroleum sector law, in the National Electricity Enterprise (ENDE) sector, in the aeronautical sector—the idea is for everything to come here, to be coordinated, so that the laws will be consistent.

We have a great legal tradition that I think needs to be maintained and revitalized, and that is also one of the ministry's tasks. We want to have a private law section and a public law section as separate offices, and we are working to improve relations between the judiciary and the executive branch. If we have intergovernment relations now, we can certainly have relations between branches of the same government.

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I would find it very comforting if the laws we have drafted are passed by Congress in their current form (the bills outlawing prison for debts and regulating preventive detention). I think freedom is the oxygen of life. We have so many people in prison because the system allows it. But many of these people should be free, and have been deprived of their most basic rights. Freedom is what gives us access to all the other rights. That is one of my ambitions.

[PRESENCIA] What can be done to combat the fear we have toward our justice system?

[Blattman] We have a specific plan, and we have already secured financing for it. It involves establishing legal aid offices, on the one hand, and arbitration and mediation, on the other hand. Most important are the legal aid offices, where people can go and say, "This wall fell down, who is to blame?" more or less. We have submitted a program that has very good prospects for financing, and we want to pilot that through the ministry.

[PRESENCIA] Does the Justice Ministry get its funding only from the General Treasury of the Nation (TGN), or does it have external sources?

[Blattman] In principle, the TGN, and we are also negotiating with the World Bank to cooperate with us. Without money we cannot revamp the judiciary. We have had talks with the Supreme Court, and we have made quite a bit of progress.

The Supreme Court has drafted guidelines, and we think this project should be carried out jointly. The good thing is that we have found that the international financing agencies (IADB [Inter-American Development Bank], World Bank) have discovered that it is not enough to build highways and factories to modernize a state, that a reliable justice system—the very basis of civilization—is needed as well.

This is something new; it was just a year ago that they began saying that where there are no legal assurances, there is nothing, nothing can flourish, and I think that is great.

We have also been in touch with the U.S. AID [Agency for International Development] for some specific programs, such as the legal aid offices.

There is great enthusiasm in the international community for helping and sharing experiences. For example, we have had an exchange of technical personnel with Germany to work on specific projects. Holland, which is very advanced in terms of prevention and helping people rather than punishing them, can cooperate with us to make our penitentiary system not just correctional but also a step toward reintegration in society.

[Box, p 2]

Law 1008 Is Draconian, But....

[PRESENCIA] Many analysts believe that the General Law on Coca and Controlled Substances, Law 1008, is unconstitutional and draconian, and that it leaves the accused defenseless. What proposals does the Justice Ministry have to make it consistent, to adapt it, etc.?

[Blattman] I would not venture to say whether or not it is unconstitutional. That it is draconian, yes, and for the following reason: Laws respond to a given social moment, and when Law 1008 was passed, there was total impunity.

The way it worked was that a kingpin would go to the trial court judge and straighten out his case; he would go home and that was that. The police would do their best and arrest the kingpin at the risk of their own lives, and would bring him before the Public Ministry. The ministry would do its part with respect to the judge, and then the judge would throw out the case, and he would go home or get out on bail, and he would never come back again.

In view of that fear, they decided to do something that at the time probably sounded good, that is, denying bail to drug trafficking defendants: A kingpin who is behind bars must go to trial.

But what happened? It was not just the kingpins, but a lot of other people, and in particular, sometimes innocent people. That is the problem, because even if a person is obviously innocent, if charges have been filed he may spend three, four years in prison until the Supreme Court declares his innocence.

That is the problem, and sure, laws can be amended. Law 1008 contains a presumption of guilt, as opposed to the Constitution, which presumes innocence.

Now, the danger involved in all of this is that, when a law is so draconian, you tend to take the side of those who fall victim to it. There is a tendency to defend those who may come into conflict with the law, and that is dangerous.

But it is very tricky deciding where to draw the line: To what extent should the law be draconian to crack down on drug trafficking, and to what extent should it guarantee liberty for all of us? It is very difficult to find the middle ground.

There must be a law that is so effective it can stop drug trafficking—which is a constant danger—but at the same time guarantee minimal protection of human rights.

[PRESENCIA] In Operation New Dawn in the Chapare region, undocumented people have been rounded up indiscriminately. Is that legal?

[Blattman] It is not that these people are not carrying their identity cards, it is that they do not have any. It would be very easy for a criminal to go around with no identity card so that he would be held 24 hours and then let go. There are many people who cannot explain what they are doing in the Chapare, and through investigative techniques, it is possible to discover whether they are there for a job, whether they are registered somewhere,

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etc. In general, these are the leads [ovillos] that are followed to detect crime rings.

[PRESENCIA] But can someone be arrested like that, just because?

[Blattman] Not just because, no, but law enforcement authorities have certain functions to carry out. Right now their function is to fight drug trafficking. In general, they conduct raids and find undocumented people, who begin to talk. But they do not arrest them for that crime, and besides, I think they are approaching this as an investigative tool in their effort to combat drug trafficking.

Drug trafficking is very prevalent throughout that area, and that is why people are going around without documents. Just as citizens have the right to travel from one place to another, law enforcement has a right to cover the entire territory of the country. There cannot be places where they are not allowed, because there is a pseudo-ministate where planes can land and take off....

[PRESENCIA] Yes, but the problem is the 200-odd detainees....

[Blattman] I think matters will become cleared up. They may find a lead, there are foreigners there, there are locksmiths [cerrajeros] and implausible situations. I think that until we can clarify the law a little, this is sort of like a state of emergency, in that there are problems....

[Box, p 2]

The Worst Tyranny Is Judicial Tyranny

Two of Justice Minister Rene Blattman's primary concerns are the abuse of preventive detention and the provision that says that a convict may not leave prison until he has paid restitution, even after he has served his term. To counter both of them, he has drafted two bills, the Law to Abolish Prison for Debts and Coercive Detention, and the Law on the Regulation of Preventive Detention.

Prison for Debts

The proposed Law to Abolish Prison for Debts and Coercive Detention, says Blattman, arises out of the fact that "we are the only country in the world that has a system whereby a person who has served his term will remain in prison until he pays civil damages. That is an impediment to justice," he says.

"A person who has completed his sentence has every right to be reintegrated into society," but because of that provision we have in our prisons "debtors instead of criminals, and that proves that our entire structure is flawed."

In addition, he notes that one of the most important areas of corruption "is the indiscriminate use of coercive detention, that is, jailing someone for any reason," and that in this country it is used even to get clients to pay their attorneys' fees.

"Where do you see this? Nowhere else in the world. Is there coercive detention to make people pay reporters, doctors, or carpenters? No, but for attorneys, yes. Why? There is absolutely no reason. Moreover, worldwide, we are the only country that has that; that is a gem, it is like Jurassic Park," he emphasizes.

Thus, the principle on which the bill is based is that "coercive detention should be employed only in the case of a crime. We use jail as a coercive measure to achieve an objective. What happens? The state's penitentiaries are at the service of creditors."

Blattman insists that the prison sentence "is the most powerful instrument available to the state, and it should be supplemental. People should go to jail only when there is no other recourse, and when a crime has been committed." But that is not the case now, and "there is an avalanche of criminal actions because civil proceedings take so long, and generally about 70 percent of criminal cases are commercial in origin."

But there is also a fear of the justice system. "That is not healthy. People should feel that justice is truth in action, not coercion, intimidation, and citizens' fear of the authorities. The worst tyranny is judicial tyranny. If there is tyranny on the part of the executive branch, you can take judicial or legislative measures, but people are defenseless against the judiciary, and that is what we must change."

Thus, people must understand that "the function of criminal law is to make sure that a citizen who has committed a crime serves a sentence and is reintegrated into society, and civil law will ensure that he pays for his civil liability," but not by going to jail. As always, the victims are the poorest segment of society, so it becomes "socioeconomic discrimination, because the poor never get out."

When asked about the number of people who would benefit from this provision, Blattman states that its intent is not to empty out the jails, but, in the words of John Paul II, "injustice against one person is war on all humanity." However, he gives a "ballpark" estimate that about 10 percent would benefit from the law.

Moreover, this provision will make people behave more responsibly. When they lend money, for example, they will make sure the debtor has sufficient guarantees, because they can no longer send him to jail.

Preventive Detention

The other bill is aimed at regulating preventive detention, which should last no longer than the summary process.

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"What happens is that during the summary process, the investigation takes place, and if there is good cause to believe that a crime has been committed, the defendant can be subject to preventive detention for 20 days, until the trial itself is held. But instead of the statutory 20 days, the summary process ends up lasting two, three, four years, during which time the person is still held in preventive detention." Often, he says, the person is held longer than his sentence would be.

In view of this, Blattman believes that one way to speed up justice is to simplify procedures and enforce deadlines strictly. "For example, a case comes in, and why does it take longer than 20 days? Because it is unrealistic. Let us say 60 days in the law, but a firm 60 days, not 20, which ends up being four years or forever."

There is a custom in this country, he says, of using preventive detention to scare people. "They throw someone in prison, then they forget about him, and he stays there. I know of one person who was given four years, the civil party dropped the civil damage claim, and he is still there now, after nine years. That can only happen here; it is archaic, it is cruel, it is incredible."

Therefore, the purpose of this bill is to "set limits" on preventive detention, "so that it will not be eternal," since "no one can be kept in preventive detention for longer than his sentence will be. No one should have to pay with his freedom the price of slow justice," he adds.

Brazil

Editorial Criticizes Clinton Cuban, Foreign Policies

PY2708025794 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 26 Aug 94 p 3

[Editorial from the "Notes and Informations" page: "A Hesitant President"]

[Text] The failure of the new Cuban policy of U.S. President Bill Clinton can be measured. After an announcement that the automatic granting of asylum to Cubans escaping from the island had been canceled, the number of refugees intercepted by the Coast Guard has practically tripled. Thinking of Florida voters, Clinton made a hasty decision unpleasant to Florida's Latin population, and which left the United States in a very difficult position from the viewpoint of its foreign relations.

The problem is that Clinton believes that foreign policy should be subordinated to domestic policy. None of his advisers could convince him that even though domestic and foreign policies are inextricably linked to one another each has its own logic and grammar and that successful foreign policies thus maintain a cautious distance from the changes that are frequent in domestic policy.

The president also has the habit of listening to too many people about matters that call for a rapid decision. Listening to advice has never hurt, provided the one who has to make the decision does not lose the focus and timing of the problem. This does not seem to be the case with Bill Clinton, whose various statements on major issues leave a winding trail marked by the influences that were exercised on him, but which did not last beyond the duration of a speech or a meeting. The president also tends to give different treatments to similar issues, apparently for the sole purpose of keeping things going.

The Haitian case, for example, was treated by the Bush administration as an immigration problem. Clinton decided to raise it to the category of a vital political issue, demanding the restoration of democracy and the return to power of ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. The crisis went to the point of an invasion, which did not take place because of the lack of concrete and significant foreign support for the adventure. Vietnam, China, and the DPRK have problems that are as serious or more serious than the Cuban human rights record. Clinton, however, is willing to establish broad trade relations with Vietnam. He renewed the status of most favored nation for China, and began high-level negotiations with the DPRK, to which he provided substantial help despite the threat to regional peace posed by its illegal nuclear program.

With Cuba, however, Clinton is following the opposite direction. He began by considering a matter that is obviously and remarkably political as if it were an immigration issue. By doing this he dismantled a policy of 30 years, losing the opportunity to efficiently pressure the Castroist government in the right way, based on talks covering the institutional future of the island. Thanks to President Clinton's inability to look at problems from the appropriate perspective, Fidel Castro might have received support at exactly the time when his regime was approaching its end.

Lula Assumes Command of Campaign, Chooses Aides

PY2608173394 Sao Paulo AGENCIA ESTADO in Portuguese 0015 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] Sao Paulo, 25 Aug (AE)—The PT [Workers Party] candidate for president, Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, has assumed command of his electoral campaign, solving an internal power struggle between moderate and orthodox leaders who accuse each other of being responsible for Lula's drop in popularity in the polls and who disagree on the manner by which to reverse the loss of votes. In practice, Lula will now make the principal decisions together with the campaign coordinators who have his absolute trust. The radical leaders, who, according to the moderate allies of Lula, have committed serious mistakes, such as forbidding alliances that would have broadened Lula's support for the first voting round—will not, however, be estranged from the campaign coordinating board. This will prevent fights at this difficult moment for the campaign. The radicals will nonetheless lose space in the definition of the most important issues.

In the arrangement made by Lula, the campaign coordinators who are part of the so-called "personal group"

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chosen by Lula have gained more importance, beside those who are in the campaign command given the posts they occupy in the PT. Among Lula's "personal group" the members of the campaign coordinating board which was formed last February, are: Paulo Okamoto, treasurer of Lula's 1989 campaign; Marco Aurelio Garcia, Lula's government platform coordinator and PT foreign affairs secretary; Paulo Vannucchi, former political adviser of Lula's parallel government (created soon after the 1989 elections); and Gilberto Carvalho, secretary general who began to formally participate in the campaign coordinating board soon after its members were defined.

The PT leaders aligned in the extreme factions of the party deny this new arrangement, which was nonetheless confirmed by the PT leadership that is very close to Lula. PT President Rui Falcao, leader of the largest orthodox faction, the Leftist Organization or the Hour of Truth, is one of the men who deny changes in the decisionmaking leadership. He said that the news on the changes is nothing but "wrong information and an attempt to create a split within the campaign."

Chile

Frei, Argentina's Menem Stress 'Good Relations'

PY2608155094 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Imagen Internacional in Spanish 1100 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] Yesterday President Eduardo Frei and his Argentine counterpart Carlos Saul Menem participated in a protocol dinner at the Fine Arts Palace. Both presidents stressed the level of good relations between the two countries.

President Carlos Menem stressed the importance of Mercosur [Common Market of the South] as an instrument for the unity of nations and seeking continuous development in the world. The path taken by Mercosur is visible evidence of the virtues of economic integration, he said. He classified Chile as a partner and a member of the family.

Chilean President Eduardo Frei made similar remarks, saying that the two countries are experiencing a decisive stage in the effort to strengthen peace. Frei also reaffirmed the two countries' commitment to eradicating terrorism, referring to the attack on the Jewish institution in Buenos Aires.

Businessmen's Role in Integration Stressed

PY2608194594 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1625 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] Santiago, 26 Aug (EFE)—President Eduardo Frei and his Argentine counterpart Carlos Menem today, 26 August, urged Chilean and Argentine businessmen to show ambition and initiative, because integration and development depend almost exclusively on them.

"The governments are not the ones to create great enterprises and develop projects; the paternalist state has ended," Menem said in a meeting held in Santiago between 400 businessmen and the two presidents within the framework of the Argentine president's official visit to this country.

Frei said that the role of the governments is to create the political and legal framework for integration and development, "the consolidation of which depends on the private sector." He added that "the progress achieved so far shows the political will to keep advancing."

The massive presence of businessmen at the meeting, "unthought of in previous years," shows the effort being made, Frei said, while Menem said that "integration is a process that is in effect and one that no one can stop."

The two presidents told the businessmen that the democratic system prevailing in Latin America "provides guarantees for the broadest economic and commercial freedom, and represents an ideal framework for the consolidation of regional integration."

The meeting with the businessmen was Menem's first activity on the second day of his visit to Santiago, during which he will also hold another working meeting with Frei. Afterward, the two presidents will sign a joint declaration on the new bilateral integration agreements.

Highlights of Document To Be Noted

PY2608190794 Buenos Aires Radio Nacional Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] We will now give your the highlights of the document that will be signed today in Santiago by Argentine President Carlos Menem and Chilean President Eduardo Frei:

The reaffirmation of the master plan to reconstruct 12 border passes.

A possible complementary agreement on the Neuquen [Argentina]-Concepcion [Chile] gas pipeline.

The document also includes the construction of a tunnel to join Juncal with Los Horconoes. The work will most probably begin in 1995, according to President Menem.

Colombia

Foreign Minister on U.S. Ties, Drug Trafficking

PA2808021194 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0230 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Part II of an interview with Foreign Minister Rodrigo Pardo by unidentified reporters; place not given; from the "CMI Newscast"—live or recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] What is the plan of action concerning U.S.- Colombian relations?

[Pardo] First of all, mutual respect. We refuse to make assumptions about the United States. This point does

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not mean we must agree or disagree on everything, but we must be able to work issue by issue in order to find sensible mechanisms of understanding based on our mutual friendship and respect.

[Reporter] Previous governments had tried not to focus the relations with the United States on drug trafficking, and they failed. Do you have a formula to achieve this goal?

[Pardo] I believe the United States itself understands drug trafficking is not the only issue in which we Colombians are interested. We Colombians are interested in it, of course, perhaps more so than the United States, because the problems of corruption, political instability, and violence we Colombians are experiencing due to drug trafficking are more serious than the problem of public health the United States is facing due to drug trafficking. We Colombians and the Ernesto Samper government are truly convinced the drug trafficking problem demands and requires international cooperation.

[Reporter] Is U.S. aid really necessary?

[Pardo] We can spend great deals of money and can continue to suffer violence tied to drug trafficking, but if the existing level of consumption in the United States prevails, the drug trafficking problem will not be solved.

[Reporter] Will the U.S. cooperation with Colombia on drug trafficking evidence continue? The prosecutor general said a few days ago there is nothing new against the Rodriguez Orejuela brothers. Is that true?

[Pardo] The cooperation on judicial issues is difficult, yet essential. The United States has evidence. It is imperative that it share this evidence with Colombia.

[Reporter] Why don't we talk about Venezuela for a while? Colombia has always had a very quiet position, which consists of appealing directly to the international courts, while Venezuela, in practice, has taken over Colombian territorial seas.

[Pardo] There is no way we can make this statement. One cannot say something that is being negotiated is already defined. The demarcation is not defined by facts but, rather, by laws. The two countries agree on this position.

[Reporter] Why are we waiting for laws to resolve this issue? What about the Venezuelan boats invading Colombian waters?

[Pardo] International law has granted rights to boats from several countries to navigate through the territorial waters of other countries.

[Reporter] In other words, Venezuela keeps the territory, and we keep the juridical tradition?

[Pardo] No. Venezuela also believes this issue is one subject to the negotiating commission; otherwise, it would not participate in these negotiations.

[Reporter] Does the Colombian Government believe the entire Gulf of Venezuela is vital for Venezuela?

[Pardo] No. As you know, this is an incorrect word to use in reference to this issue, because it has juridical connotations.

[Reporter] But that is my question.

[Pardo] We recognize the Gulf of Venezuela is important for Venezuela.

[Reporter] But is it vital?

[Pardo] It is important [laughs].

Cuban Envoy Praises Stand on Refugees, Blockade

PA2708025394 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0000 GMT 27 Aug 94

[From the "24 Hours" newscast]

[Text] Jesus Martinez, Cuban ambassador to Colombia, agrees that the United States has curbed the exodus of Cuban refugees but insists that a solution to the immigration issue must be based on a broad dialogue that includes an end to the economic blockade against the island. Ambassador Martinez said Colombia's decision not to receive refugees was important.

[Begin Martinez recording] We welcomed Colombia's position, which was not restricted solely to the decision not to receive refugees. Foreign Minister Rodrigo Pardo also expressed Colombia's opposition to the U.S. blockade of Cuba. [end recording]

Cuba wants to talk about the exodus with the United States, but it wants to begin those talks with a discussion of the economic blockade and its origins and effects.

[Begin Martinez recording] We think it is necessary to get to the root of the problem if you really want to solve this whole situation. The root of the problem is basically the blockade and the aggressive U.S. policy against our country. To the extent that we can discuss this, we will be able to solve all the problems dealing with immigration, the country's economic situation, and a series of problems that are actually the real issues. This is where the conflict started, but the immigration issue in and of itself is not the root of the problem. [end recording]

Army Commander Cited on Samper Communique on Peace

PA2708014494 Santa Fe de Bogota EL ESPECTADOR in Spanish 22 Aug 94 p 15

[Text] Army Commander General Hernan Jose Guzman Rodriguez said yesterday the Armed Forces do not feel discredited by a communique issued by President Ernesto Samper Pizano in which he has insisted spokesmanship for the peace process resides solely in Peace Commissioner Carlos Holmes Trujillo. Guzman said, on

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the contrary, the Armed Forces are cognizant of their mission and will heed orders in that regard.

"We do not feel discredited; on the contrary, we will respect, heed, and fulfill the order, because the president of the Republic is our commander in chief," said the ranking military officer.

Guzman said at the conclusion of the ceremony inaugurating the 15th Interscholastic Games, which are held annually at the General Santander Police Academy, that "the Armed Forces will remain in charge of controlling public order nationwide by order of the government itself. The high commissioner for peace must examine other situations." Guzman said a possible peace dialogue does not imply the men in his command will make any changes in the struggle against the guerrillas. When asked about the 13th National Plenum of all the Army of National Liberation (ELN) commanders in the jungles of Catatumbo at the end of July, the Army commander said "that is their version."

Regarding the subversive summit, it was disclosed yesterday top ELN leader Manuel Perez Martinez, alias Poliarco or El Cura Perez, will send a letter on 23 August to President Ernesto Samper stating his movement is considering the possibility of talking with the government, beginning with an evaluation of the peace policies that failed at the negotiations in Caracas and Tlaxcala.

Ministry Implements 'Liberation Plan' for Subversives

PA2708015694 Santa Fe de Bogota EL ESPECTADOR 21 Aug 94 p A-5

[Text] With the creation of the Operative Committee for the Surrender of Arms [Comite Operativo para la Dejacion de las Armas—CODA] and the implementation of new prerogatives for armed individuals who desert from subversive ranks, the Defense Ministry has set in motion a Liberation Plan through the Armed Forces. The plan was ordered last week through a permanent directive signed by General Ramon Emilio Gil Bermudez, Armed Forces commander, and seeks to infiltrate the 80 teams the FARC [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia], ELN [Army of National Liberation], and EPL [Popular Liberatio Army] are believed to have and to convince as many men as possible to withdraw from the mountains in exchange for socioeconomic benefits.

"The Armed Forces, aware of the positive results of the benefits granted to those who voluntarily abandon subversive organizations and for the sake of obtaining for Colombian society and the country the peace they desire, are developing a nationwide program of information, enlightenment, and divulgence to this end," said the ranking officer.

"The idea is to reach people who are up in arms through all of the technical means available to the troops and with the help of the civilian population. Everyone knows the degree of neglect and confinement in which the leaders of those armed groups maintain their lowest ranking bandits. They are deprived of their right to receive information, let alone make their own decisions," Gil has said. (We will reward the most resourceful commands and distribute flyers from helicopters, aerial and terrestrial loudspeakers, radio stations, balloons, whatever, said a coordinating officer). Gil has said "with citizen cooperation many people will be liberated through the state programs."

Asked how the Army can convince a guerrilla he will not be in danger upon surrendering and relinquishing his weapons, he replied "they can surrender to any authority who need not be in the military, but the General Command has reminded all the forces at the various command levels they should zealously respect human rights. Furthermore, other sources will observe the process."

The Liberation Plan fulfills one of the last decrees issued by President Gaviria, Decree No. 1385, which created the CODA, the body that will super-supervise [supervigilara] subversive desertions. This body consists of one representative from each of the following: the ministries of government, justice, and defense; the office of the peace adviser; and the office of the attorney general. They will evaluate each case and approve the "deserved" benefits. They will take into consideration: "the surrender of weapons and resolve for reinstatement."

Every insurgent who submits will be given a certificate to guarantee fulfillment of his socioeconomic benefits, which will depend on the crimes perpetrated by the "repentant," and may range from a pardon to economic and work support.

ELN Urban Front Expresses Willingness for Talks

PA2708014294 Santa Fe de Bogota EL ESPECTADOR in Spanish 21 Aug 94 p A-5

[Text] The government has not unified its criteria regarding its proposal to begin a peace dialogue according to the guerrilla group ELN [Army of National Liberation].

An ELN urban front has expressed its willingness to begin a peace negotiation as long as the state clarifies its attitude regarding the issue.

The guerrillas argue in a written message to Government Minister Horacio Serpa Uribe that public statements by state officials are "different." They believe there is a sector in the Samper administration that wants to try "options different from the failed all-out war launched by Gaviria," but there is another sector that insists on maintaining that course.

The rebels' message was read before participants of the Forum for Peace and Democracy, which is being held in the town of Floridablanca, Santander. Government delegates are also attending this forum.

The message is signed by the Diego Cristobal Uribe Escobar Urban Front, which belongs to the ELN's Camilist Union. This ELN urban front states in the message

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that as far as the ambiguous position of government officials is concerned, "we would like to interpret it as a lack of political unity in the government, not as an attitude of double standards."

The note adds that a clear position does not exist on paramilitarism either and demands that the constant abuses by the Armed Forces not be considered as "isolated cases."

Imprisoned EPL Commander: Group Ready for Dialogue

PA2908042994 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Canal A Network in Spanish 0130 GMT 28 Aug 94

[From the "AM/PM" newscast]

[Text] Francisco Caraballo, imprisoned commander of the EPL [Popular Liberation Army], sent a letter today to the government stating his group wants to begin a peace dialogue immediately. High Peace Commissioner Carlos Holmes Trujillo has welcomed the proposal.

According to Caraballo, there is a favorable climate for a dialogue without conditions or demands, and similarities exist with the proposals of the Guerrilla Coordinating Board. After noting the parties have expressed their willingness to hold a dialogue, Caraballo proposes that the appropriate mechanisms and contacts be expedited:

[Begin Holmes recording] I just learned about it. I am analyzing it, and the government is obviously going to carefully study it. [end recording]

The EPL commander agrees with the position of the Catholic bishops, who believe the strategy for peace is not to wage, win, or halt the war but to overcome it by eliminating the causes that gave rise to it. Observing the conciliating tone in Caraballo's message, which contrasts with his past belligerence, one question emerges: Is Caraballo speaking on behalf of the Guerrilla Coordinating Board or as a prisoner who wants to obtain amnesty?

Individuals Hurl Explosive Device at Marines

PA2808020994 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0000 GMT 27 Aug 94

[Report by Liliana Gutierrez from the "24 Hours Newscast"]

[Text] Some Marines who were traveling in a station wagon in the western sector of Santa Fe de Bogota have become the target of an attack. Individuals traveling on a motorcycle hurled an explosive device at them:

[Begin recording] [Gutierrez] General Luis Montenegro [Metropolitan Police director], would you tell us what happened here in Narino?

[Montenegro] A Ford vehicle belonging to the Navy 7th Infantry Battalion was traveling through this sector approximately 45 minutes ago when two men in a black motorcycle hurled an explosive device at the vehicle. The vehicle sustained some damage, and one noncommissioned officer and five or six Marines were injured. They were taken to a nearby hospital.

Orders have been issued to isolate the zone in case there are additional explosives in the area. In addition, everyone traveling on a black motorcycle will be detained this evening. [end recording]

Ecuador

Plebiscite on Constitutional Reform Held

Congress: Results Not Mandatory

PA2708043494 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 2342 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] Quito, 26 Aug (DPA)—Congress dealt the coup de grace today to the plebiscite on constitutional reforms, which is scheduled for 28 August in Ecuador with the participation of 6.2 million voters, when it announced the results will not represent an obligation.

"It will be an enormous and extremely expensive poll that will be used to gauge opinions, but it is not legally binding," said Congress President Heinz Moeller, predicting the Constitution will not be reformed based on replies to seven questions in the plebiscite.

President Sixto Duran-Ballen has requested the "people's consultation," according to its official name, to reform the political system that has been in effect since 1979, when Ecuador returned to democracy following three consecutive de facto governments.

The manner in which the questions were worded, however, in a nonmandatory tone, eliminated all interest in the plebiscite, as was worsened by the political parties' disdain and lack of an information campaign. According to polls, it was determined two out of every three voters know nothing about the questions.

In this atmosphere of indifference, despite the campaign launched by the government during the last week, Congress' announcement it will not feel duty bound by the results of the plebiscite dealt "the final blow to the consultation," according to Electoral Tribunal President Camilo Ponce.

Nevertheless, a high degree of abstentionism is not expected, because voting is mandatory in Ecuador. "Abstentionism will be between 22 and 25 percent, but, predictably, the number of blank or null votes will be dramatic," Ponce has predicted.

Sunday's consultation will result in a second plebiscite early in 1995, because if Congress does not approve the reforms within 100 days, which is highly probable following Moeller's announcement, the government would submit them to a mandatory decision by the voters.

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The campaign concludes today at 0000 local (0500 GMT), 12 hours after the implementation of a dry law, which will continue until Sunday at midnight.

The polling places will be open for 10 hours, starting at 0700 (1200 GMT) on 28 August, and the official results will not be known for at least a week. "There is no hurry, and the tally will be long and difficult," the tribunal president has warned. He is one of the people who has constantly criticized the plebiscite the most, because he believes it is "unnecessary and useless."

Indians Said To Nullify Ballots

PA2808022894 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2043 GMT 27 Aug 94

[Text] Quito, 27 Aug (EFE)—Luis Macas, president of the Confederation of Indian Nationalities of Ecuador [Conaie], announced today all the Indians of Ecuador will nullify the seven-question ballot of the plebiscite called for 28 August by the government of President Sixto Duran-Ballen, a conservative.

Macas reported it was decided during a meeting with Indian leaders to go to the polls but also to nullify the ballots, because "we oppose the questions that have been posed, not the plebiscite, which is a mechanism suitable for the people's expression."

According to Macas, the government's seven questions "have no relevance for improving the people's standard of living or democracy and are aimed at consolidating the executive's power."

The Indian leader said he agrees with reforming the Constitution "as long as the changes are aimed at helping all the people and not just one group."

Participation in the plebiscite, which is aimed at opening a complex process of constitutional reforms, is obligatory for more than 6 million Ecuadoreans of voting age.

The low interest the plebiscite has generated in Ecuadoreans, according to opinion polls, is made evident by the fact that 50 percent of the voters either do not know what the plebiscite is about or do not clearly understand it.

'Low Turnout' Reported

PA2808141294 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1319 GMT 28 Aug 94

[Excerpts] Quito, 28 Aug (EFE)—The plebiscite called by Ecuadoran President Sixto Duran-Ballen to begin a constitutional reform process got under way today, Sunday, at 0700 (1200 GMT) without any major incidents. A low turnout among voters was reported.

Local radio and television stations reported that one hour after the polls were officially opened, poll officials had not showed up at many of the polling stations, while at others no one showed up to vote. [passage omitted]

Duran-Ballen, who went to vote early in Quito, said this morning that Congress—where the government is in the minority—must comply with the people's will when he presents the draft constitutional reforms based on the results of the plebiscite. [passage omitted]

Press Secretary Announces Victory

PA2908010994 Paris AFP in Spanish 2333 GMT 28 Aug 94

[Text] Quito, 28 Aug (AFP)—Enrique Proano, Ecuadoran Government press secretary, announced Sunday night the answers to the seven questions posed in the plebiscite indicate a victory for the government's reform proposals, of which only one was rejected.

The official said according to a report prepared by a reputable polling company, the Confidential Report, based on an exit poll in the urban areas of Quito and Guayaquil, the country's most populous cities, the reforms have been accepted; the only reform proposal not accepted is the one on the election of deputies, which will still be held together with the first round of the presidential election.

Although Confidential Report was hired by the government, local experts have acknowledged its reliability.

Peru

DEA Plane Crashes; 5 U.S. Citizens Killed

PA2908005594 Lima Radio Programas del Peru Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 29 Aug 94

[From the "Newspaper of the Airwaves" newscast]

[Text] During a counterdrug operation, one CASA light transport airplane crashed south of Puerto Pizana, San Martin Department, killing five U.S. DEA [Drug Enforcement Administration] members who were on board.

The plane, in operation in Upper Huallaga for the past four years, was destroyed in the crash, eyewitnesses reported. Peruvian Air Force air crews and police members found the wreckage, but bad weather precluded the beginning of rescue operations.

Congress Approves Bill To End 'Repentance Law'

PY2708033294 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1534 GMT 25 Aug 94

[Text] Lima, 25 Aug (EFE)—The Peruvian Congress has approved a bill that puts an end to the so-called Repentance Law, which absolves or commutes the sentences of terrorists who surrender and cooperate with the government.

The bill, approved last night by almost all political parties, establishes that the law will be in effect until 1 November 1994, and that only until then will terrorists be able to receive the benefits of this law.

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Requests from repentant terrorists must be based on actions carried out before the implementation of the bill approved by Congress, which will apparently take place this week.

According to some analysts, the Repentance Law has been an essential "instrument" in the success of the Peruvian Government's antiterrorist strategy, as it has allowed collective desertion by subversives and the arrest of leaders of the armed groups.

It is estimated that the total number of terrorists who have surrendered so far under the protection of the law is close to 5,000, more than 85 percent of whom belong to the Shining Path Maoist group, which has been practically dismantled.

However, the incorrect use of the law by some prosecutors and judges has caused the unjust arrest of innocent people, who were accused by the repentant terrorists only so that they could benefit with a reduction or commutation of sentence.

For this reason, and given the temporary and exceptional nature of the law, the government decided to establish a limited time for its remaining in force.

Uruguay

Spanish Deputy Expelled Over ETA Incidents

PY2608191794 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2237 GMT 25 Aug 94

[Text] Montevideo, 25 Aug (EFE)—The Uruguayan Government today expelled Spanish Deputy Herri Batasuna Jon Idigoras from the country. He has been accused of inadmissibly interfering in domestic affairs and of inciting the violence that unfolded in this calm city on 24 August.

Idigoras arrived in Montevideo on 23 August and publicly announced, among other things, that the Spanish Government had "bought off" the Uruguayan Government with credits and donations in exchange for the extradition of three alleged ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty] militants. These three individuals were returned to Spain on 24 August in the midst of serious disturbances.

The alleged ETA militants arrived in Madrid today. They are Jesus Goitia, Mikel Ibanez, and Luis Maria Lizarralde. They now face Spanish courts on charges of six counts of homicide during terrorist attacks.

A Uruguayan Government announcement on the decision to expel the Spanish deputy states that the violence incited by Idigoras caused the deaths of two individuals, injured dozens, and caused widespread damage.

Unconfirmed reports state that the government decision to expel Idigoras was handed to him at the "Gure Trainera" ("Nuestra Trainera") Basque food restaurant, which is managed by other alleged ETA militants, who were not extradited to Spain.

The phone at the "Gure Trainera" is carrying a recorded message saying: "This telephone is temporarily out of service."

Alleged ETA Militant Expelled

PY2708023094 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2251 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] Montevideo, 26 Aug (EFE)—Rosario Delgado Iriondo, alleged member of the ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty] terrorist organization, who had been living as a refugee in Uruguay, was expelled from the country today. She was accused of having carried out political activities leading to the violent disturbances that took place during a demonstration convened by the radical left on 24 August.

The presidential public relations office released the information, adding that the Uruguayan Government gave Delgado Iriondo six hours to leave the country.

Delgado Iriondo is the second ETA militant to be expelled from the country. The reason was the same used by the government on 25 August when it ordered Herri Batasuna Deputy Jon Idigoras to leave Uruguayan territory, which he did via Buenos Aires.

Delgado can be seen in films taken of the demonstration near Filtro Hospital, where the disturbances occurred and two youngsters died. Local authorities studied the films to determine Iriondo's participation in the violent demonstrations staged to protest the extradition to Spain of another three alleged ETA militants.

Delgado Iriondo was detained in Montevideo in May 1992 together with the three alleged ETA militants who were extradited on 24 August: Jesus Goitia, Mikel Ibanez, and Luis Maria Lizarralde. In her case, Uruguayan courts denied the Spanish extradition petition and she had been living freely in Montevideo.

A group of nine alleged ETA refugees have continued to live freely in Montevideo since 1992. They had been detained with Delgado Iriondo and the three who were extradited. The Spanish Government has not requested the extradition of some of them, and Uruguayan courts rejected the extradition petition of the others.

PIT-CNT Calls General Strike After 24 Aug Events

PY2608155294 Montevideo Radio El Espectador Network in Spanish 0900 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Excerpts] A national general stoppage began yesterday afternoon and will continue throughout today. It has been called by the board of the PIT-CNT [Interunion Workers Plenum-National Workers Convention].

According to the communique released by the organization, the stoppage has been called so there can be a day of reflection and mourning for the violent incidents that occurred during a peaceful demonstration on 24 August.

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In its communique, the labor organization also calls for the resignation of Interior Minister Angel Maria Gianola because it considers him responsible for the incidents that occurred in the neighborhood of Filtro Hospital.

The board of the PIT-CNT adopted these positions yesterday afternoon, and our reporter (Walter Bernard) will now expand the report.

[Begin recording] (Bernard]) The PIT-CNT has ordered a general stoppage starting today [25 August]; it also calls for Gianola's resignation.

According to the organization's communique, there will be a general stoppage beginning today and it will continue tomorrow in a day of reflection and national mourning. This stoppage has been called in order to repudiate the police repression during yesterday's demonstration in the neighborhood of Filtro Hospital, where the three basques—[Luis Maria] Lizarralde, [Jesus] Goitia, and [Mikel] Ibanez—who were finally extradited to Spain, were interned.

According to the communique, the PIT-CNT holds the government responsible for the brutal, and at times criminal, repression of a peaceful demonstration.

The immediate resignation of Interior Minister Angel Maria Gianola is called for because he is no guarantee for maintaining order and public freedom. [passage omitted]

This was (Walter Bernard) speaking directly from PIT-CNT headquarters. [end recording]

We wish to clarify that today the educational sector, primary, secondary, and universities, at the public and private levels is completely paralyzed due to those incidents and the national general stoppage. The transport sector is also paralyzed. There will be no taxis because the union that groups the taxi drivers has decided to adhere to the stoppage; they will lift their stoppage tomorrow, Saturday. There are no buses either. An emergency bus service ordered by CUTCSA [Uruguayan Bus Company] and some of the cooperatives will begin in a few minutes, but during these early hours of the morning public transport is completely paralyzed.

Radio Shut Down for 'Inciting Violence'

PY2608182294 Buenos Aires Radio Nacional Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 26 Aug 94

[Text] The Uruguayan Government today closed down two radio stations for 48 hours for inciting violence, before, during, and after the incidents that occurred on 24 August during the extradition of three alleged members of the ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty].

The radio stations are CX-44 Radio Panamericana and CX-36 Radio Centenario, which are run by the political organizations Tupamaros and 26 March that are linked to the guerrilla organization Tupamaros National Liberation Movement.

The resolution was issued today by the Defense Ministry and nothing like has happened since the return of democracy in 1985.

Venezuela

Foreign Minister: Cubans With Relatives in Country Accepted

PA2708163994 Paris AFP in Spanish 1552 GMT 27 Aug 94

[Text] Caracas, 27 Aug (AFP)—Venezuela is reportedly willing to receive Cubans who have relatives in this country in an effort to help "find a deeper solution" to the Cuban crisis, Foreign Minister Miguel Angel Burelli Rivas told the press today in Caracas.

"Venezuela is an open country, and it cannot disgracefully tell the Cubans that its doors are closed. We have been receiving Cubans since 1959," the foreign minister said.

"We could accept Cubans here as a contribution toward resolving the enormous drama that is putting the lives of the rafters at risk. We could accept those who have relatives here and whose presence is requested by their relatives," he added.

"This would be our cooperation in helping to find a deeper solution to the Cuban drama," he pointed out.

Burelli Rivas also confirmed that the U.S. Government had asked the Venezuelan Government to receive groups of Cuban rafters under the auspices of the UNHCR. According to the proposal, Cuban refugees would be lodged by the UNHCR in a "safe and temporary place" and their expenses would be paid by the U.S. Government.

Council of Ministers Approves Draft Corrales Plan

PA2608215594 Caracas Union Radio Network in Spanish 2200 GMT 24 Aug 94

[Report by Cecilia Pachano from Miraflores Palace; from the "Union Radio News" newscast]

[Text] The Council of Ministers has approved the preliminary report on the Corrales plan, which deals with the draft macroeconomic stability project. As had been announced, the Council of Ministers discussed at length the draft macroeconomic stability plan, which was designed by CORDIPLAN [Central Office of Coordination Planning] and presented by CORDIPLAN Director Werner Corrales.

Discussion of the plan, however, has not ended. According to Guillermo Alvarez Bajares, chief of the Central Information Office, this program will be approved and announced in the near future. No further details were available today.

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[Begin Alvarez recording] For the time being, I cannot give you any more details because the final draft will be reviewed, I repeat, by Werner Corrales. [end recording]

Central Bank President on Foreign Exchange Plan

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[Text] Speaking at the legislative subcommission charged with studying an exchange system proposal, where he was invited to express his opinion on this matter, Antonio Casas Gonzalez, president of the Central Bank of Venezuela, said it is not advisable to keep the Bank from conducting foreign exchange business.

[Begin Casas Gonzalez recording] It must be taken into consideration that foreign exchange is exclusively handled by the Central Bank. It was thus recognized in our country in 1939 when the Central Bank of Venezuela was created, and it is thus stated in the charter. The reasons presented at the time are still valid, even more so after the enactment of the Central Bank of Venezuela's 1992 Law, which includes monetary and fiscal stability in the bank's responsibilities, a stability directly linked to the exchange policy. It is for this reason that in the majority of countries, exchange either is handled exclusively by the Central Bank or is a responsibility jointly shared by the Bank and the corresponding government. Because of this, it would not be advisable to leave the Central Bank out of foreign exchange business in the country. Otherwise, the purpose for the Bank's creation would be defeated. [end recording]

Another aspect Casas Gonzalez objected to in relation to the exchange system proposal was the legal instrument itself, which controls all foreign exchange transactions and all transactions from which obligations or debts in foreign currency could derive. According to Casas Gonzalez, this approach annuls two traditional principles in the monetary system, that of free convertibility and the one stating that the Venezuelan currency is legal tender, a situation that will create uncertainty and harm the normal development of the country's economy. Finally, Casas Gonzalez regards as advisable to have a law to regulate some aspects of the exchange system, particularly penalties to be applied on offenders, but without this law getting in the way of some principles.

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